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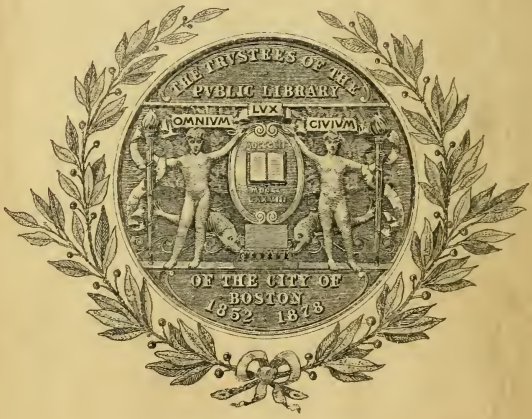

THE LIFE AND MOST SURPRISING ADVENTURES OF ROBINSON CRUSOE,

OF YORK, MARINER;

WHO

Lived Eight and Twenty Years in an uninhabited Island, on the Coast of *America*, lying near the Mouth of the great river of *Oroonoque*: Having been cast on Shore by Shipwreck, wherein all the men were drowned but himself:

AS ALSO,

A RELATION how he was wonderfully delivered by PIRATES.

The whole Three Volumes faithfully abridged.

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PREFACE.

IT is very well known what universal reception the life of this man has met with in the world, and therefore needs little or no apology for this edition, which comprizes the three volumes into one faithful abridgment. In the perusal of which, you will find so many curious moral observations, so many divine reflections to comfort the afflicted mind, and such an heavenly prospect of the wonderful Providence of God, that scarce any who read it but what may make some application of it to themselves, and pleasingly be led to a knowledge of the divine blessings.

But here I am sensible, that as there are some who complain against the design in general, as an inconsistent romance; so there are others who, I doubt not, will not fail depreciating the performance of this in particular; they may represent, that the abridging a work is scandalous and ridiculous; and that thereby is taken away from it the only ornaments that recommend it to wise men. If this be true, and they could persuade the world so, I know not what must become of those many curious abridgments that are extant among us, far more pleasant than the tiresome eloquence of larger volumes; nor how well the common sort of people will be pleased in being withheld, by an excessive price, from a history so instructive and entertaining: and do assure my readers, whatever they may allege against this abridgement, there are not only many errors corrected, but several palpable and gross contradictions rectified and amended: in a word, there is not one material circumstance omitted; neither is there any deprived of its most proper observations.

The first volume treats of his Shipwreck, the manner of his Deliverance upon the Desolate Island, *and tells of all that anxiety of mind he endured, till the uncommon accident of his being released, after eight and twenty years solitude.*

In the second he appears in his prosperous condition, till the death of his dear wife; when, resuming his former wandering inclinations; it necessarily leads us to his future adventures, and remarkable travels by land from the Eastern *countries, which are as amusing and instructive as his voyage by sea.*

In

In the last place is shewn to us a prospect of the angelic world, the blessings of peace, retirement, and contentment, which is the end of life, the glory of happiness, and an introduction to the divine and blessed mansions above.

When this book first appeared in the world, how delightful, how ravishing did it seem to every reader? Here the passions of the mind were so beautifully expressed, both in the nature of his adversity and prosperity, that they melted every heart with a tender sympathy and compassion. Robinson Crusoe *was in every body's mouth as much as in the mouth of* Pretty Poll! *But since to this abridgement there are added two parts more, with the natural consequence of life, it cannot, methinks, but give an entire satisfaction, as much as any thing of this kind can possibly do; and therefore, I cannot otherwise think but it will be well worth my reader's perusal; and, I hope, merit his approbation too.*

Needless therefore it is to enlarge any farther on this performance, but leave it to the ingenuity and candour of unprejudiced persons: and whatever may be the fate of it, I do assure the public, that no pains or labour have been wanting to render this history delightful, instructive, and entertaining.

THE

THE LIFE AND ADVENTURES OF ROBINSON CRUSOE.

IN the year 1632, I was born at *York*, of a reputable family. My father was a native of *Bremen*, who, merchandizing at *Hull* for some time, gained a very plentiful fortune, and married my mother in *York*, who received her first breath in that country: And as her maiden name was *Robinson*, I was called *Robinson Kreutznaer*; which not being easily pronounced in the English tongue, we are commonly known by the name of *Crusoe*.

I was the youngest of three brothers; the eldest was a Lieutenant Colonel in *Lockhart's* regiment, but slain by the *Spaniards*: What became of the other I could never learn.

No charge nor pains were wanting in my education, my father designing me for the law; yet nothing would serve me, but I must go to sea, both against the will of my father, the tears of my mother, and the entreaties of friends. One morning my father expostulated very warmly with me: Says he, what reason have you to leave your native country, where there must be a more certain prospect of content and happiness, than to enter into a wandering condition of uneasiness and uncertainty? He recommended to me *Agar's* wish, *neither to desire adversity, nor riches*; that a middle state of life was the most happy; and that the high towering thoughts of raising our condition by wandering abroad, were surrounded with misery and danger, and often ended with confusion and disappointment: I entreat you, nay I command you, said he, to desist from these intentions: Consider your eldest brother, who laid down his life for his honour, or rather lost it for his disobedience to my will. If you will go, added he, my prayers however shall be offered for your preservation; but a time may come, when, desolate, oppress, or forsaken, you may wish

you had taken your poor despised father's counsel. He pronounced these words with such a moving and paternal eloquence, while floods of tears ran down his aged cheeks, that seemed to stem the torrent of my resolutions.

But this wore off soon, and a little after I informed my mother, that I could not settle to any business, my resolutions were so strong to see the world; and begged she would gain my father's consent, only to go one voyage, which if it did not prove prosperous I would never attempt a second: But my desire was as vain as my folly in asking: my mother passionately exprest her dislike of this proposal, telling me, *That as she saw I was bent upon my own destruction, contrary to their will and my duty, she would say no more, but leave me to myself, to do whatsoever I pleased.*

I was then I think, nineteen years old, when one time being at *Hull*, I met a school fellow of mine, going along with his father, who was master of a ship, to *London*: And acquainting him with my wandering desires, he assured me of my free passage, and a plentiful share of what was necessary. Thus, without imploring a blessing, or taking a farewell of my parents, I took shipping on the first of *September* 1651. When our ship having no sooner left the *Humber* astern, but there arose such a violent storm, and being extremely sea sick, I thought that the judgments of God deservedly followed me for my disobedience to my dear parents. It was then only I called to mind the good advice of my father; how easy and comfortable was a middle state of life; and if it pleased God to set me on dry land once more, I would return to my parents, implore their forgivness, and bid a final adieu to my wandering inclinations.

Such were my thoughts while the storm continued; but these good resolutions decreased with the danger. More especially, when my companion came to me, clapping me on the shoulder: *What*, Bob! said he, *sure you was not frightened last night with scarce a cap full of wind?* —— *And do you*, cry'd I, *call such a violent storm a cap full of wind? A storm, you fool you*, said he, *this is nothing; a good ship and sea room always baffle such a foolish squall of wind as that: But you're a fresh water sailor: come, boy, turn out, see what fine weather we have now, and a good bowl of punch will drown all your past sorrows* In short the punch was made, I was drunk, and in one night's time drowned both my repentance and my good resolutions, entirely forgetting the vows and promises I made in my distress: And whenever any reflections would return on me, what by company and drinking, I soon mastered those fits, as I deridingly called them. But this only made way for another

another trial, whereby I could not but ſee how much I was beholden to kind providence.

Upon the ſixth day, we came to an anchor in *Harwich* road, where we lay wind bound with ſome *Newcaſtle* ſhips; and there being good anchorage, and our cables ſound, the ſeamen forgot their late toil and danger, and ſpent their time as merrily as if they had been on ſhore. But on the eighth day there aroſe ſuch a briſk gale of wind, which prevented our tiding it up the river, and ſtill increaſing, our ſhip rid fore caſtle in, having ſhipped ſeveral large ſeas.

It was not long before horror ſeized the ſeamen themſelves, when I heard the maſter expreſs this melancholly ejaculation, *Lord have mercy upon us, we ſhall be all loſt and undone!* For my part, ſick unto death, I kept my cabin, till the univerſal and moſt dreadful apprehenſions among us of our ſpeedy fate, made me get up upon deck; and there I was dreadfully affrighted indeed: The ſea went mountains high: I could ſee nothing but diſtreſs around us: Two ſhips had cut their maſts on board, and another was foundered. Two more, had loſt their anchors, were forced out to the mercy of the ocean; and to ſave our lives, we were forced to cut our fore maſt and main maſt quite away.

Who is there ſo ignorant as not to judge of my dreadful condition? I was but a freſh water ſailor, and therefore it ſeemed more terrible. Our ſhip was very good, but too much loaden, which made the ſailors often cry out, *She will founder*; words I then was ignorant of! All this while the ſtorm continuing, the maſter and the more ſober part of his men went to prayers, expecting death every moment. In the middle of the night one cried out, *We had ſprung a leak*, another, *That there was four feet water in the hold.* I was juſt ready to expire with fear, when immediately all hands were called to the pump; and the men forced me alſo in that extremity to ſhare with them in their labour. While thus employed, the maſter eſpying ſome light colliers, fired a gun as a ſignal of diſtreſs; which I, not underſtanding what it meant, and thinking that either the ſhip broke, or ſome dreadful thing happened, fell into a ſwoon; but in that common condition of woe, no body minded me, excepting to thruſt me aſide with their feet, thinking me dead, and it was a great while before I recovered.

Happy it was for us, when upon the ſignal given, they ventured out their boats to ſave our lives. All our pumping had been in vain, and vain had their attempts been, had they not come to our ſhip's ſide, when our men caſt them a rope over aſtern with a buoy to it, which after great labour they got hold of, and we hawling them to us, got into their boat. So leaving our ſhip, we perceived it ſink in leſs than a quarter of an hour, by which I knew what was *foundering at ſea.* And

now

now the men inceſſantly laboured to recover their own ſhip, but the ſea ran ſo high, and the wind blowing hard, they thought it convenient to hawl within ſhore; which with great difficulty and danger at laſt we happily effected, landing at a place called *Cromer*, not far from *Winterton* light houſe: From whence we all walked to *Yarmouth*, where, as objects of pity, many good people furniſhed us with neceſſaries for our ſubſiſtence either to *Hull* or *London*.

'Tis ſtrange, that after all this, like the Prodigal ſon, I did not return to my father; who hearing of the ſhip's calamity, for a long time thought me entombed in the deep. No doubt but I ſhould have *ſhared in his fatted calf*, as the ſcripture expreſſeth it: But my ill fate ſtill puſhed me on, in ſpite of the powerful conviction of reaſon and conſcience.

When I had been at *Yarmouth* three days, I met my old companion, who had given me the invitation to go on board along with his father. His behaviour and ſpeech was altered, and in a melancholy manner aſked me how I did, telling his father who I was, and how I had made this voyage for a trial only to proceed farther abroad: Upon which the old gentleman turning to me, gravely ſaid, *young man, you ought never to go to ſea any more, but to take this for a certain ſign that you will never proſper in a ſea faring condition.* Sir, *anſwered I*, will you take the ſame reſolution? *'Tis a different caſe*, ſaid he, *'tis my calling, and conſequently my duty; but as you have made this voyage for a trial, you ſee what ill ſucceſs heaven has ſet before your eyes; and perhaps our miſeries have been on your account, like* Jonah *in the ſhip of* Tarſhiſh: *But pray what are you, and on what account did you go to ſea?* Upon which I very freely declared my whole ſtory; at the end of which he made this exclamation, Ye ſacred powers! what had I committed, that ſuch a wretch ſhould enter into my ſhip to heap upon me ſuch a deluge of miſeries! But ſoon recollecting his paſſions, *Young man*, ſaid he, *depend upon it, if you do not go back, wherever you go, you will meet with diſaſters ond diſappointments, till your father's words are fulfilled upon you.* And ſo we parted.

I thought at firſt to return home, but ſhame oppoſed that good motion, as thinking I ſhould be laughed at by my neighbours and acquaintance. So ſtrange is the nature of youth, who are not aſhamed to ſin, but yet aſhamed to repent; and far from being aſhamed of thoſe actions for which they may be accounted fools, think it folly in returning to their duty, which is the principal mark of wiſdom. In ſhort, I travelled up to *London*, reſolved upon a voyage; and a voyage I ſoon heard of, by my acquaintance with a Captain who took a fancy to me, to go to the coaſt of *Guinea*. Having ſome money, and appearing like a gentleman, I went on board, not as a common ſailor or foremaſt man; nay, the commander agreed

I ſhould

I ſhould go that voyage with him without any expenſe; that I ſhould be his meſs mate and companion; and I was very welcome to carry any thing with me, and make the beſt merchandize I could.

I bleſſed my happy fortune, and humbly thanked my Captain for his offer; when acquainting my friends in *Yorkſhire*, forty pounds were ſent me, the greateſt part of which I believe my dear father and mother contributed to; and with which I bought toys and trifles as the Captain directed me. My Captain alſo learned me navigation, how to keep an account of the ſhip's courſe, take an obſervation, and led me into the knowledge of ſeveral uſeful branches of the mathematics. And indeed this voyage made me both a ſailor and merchant: For I brought home 5 pounds 9 ounces of gold duſt for my adventure, which produced at my return to *London*, almoſt three hundred pounds. But in this voyage I was extremely ſick, being thrown into a violent calenture, through exceſſive heat, trading upon the coaſt, from the latitude of 15 degrees north, even to the line itſelf.

But alas! my dear friend the Captain ſoon departed this life, after his arrival. This was a ſenſible grief to me; yet I reſolved to go another voyage with his mate, who had now got command of the ſhip. But this proved unſucceſsful: for though I did not carry quite £100 of my late acquired wealth, ſo that I had £200 left, which I depoſited with the Captain's widow, who was an honeſt gentlewoman, yet my misfortunes in this voyage were very great upon me; for our ſhip ſailing towards the *Canary* iſlands, we were chaſed by a *Salee* rover; and in ſpite of all the ſail we could make, by crowding as much canvaſs as our yards would ſpread, or maſts carry, the pirate gained upon us, and ſo we prepared ourſelves to fight. They had 18 guns, and we had but 12. About three in the afternoon there was a deſperate engagement, wherein many were killed and wounded on both ſides; but finding ourſelves overpowered with numbers, our ſhip diſabled, and ourſelves too impotent to have the leaſt hopes of ſucceſs, we were forced to ſurrender, and accordingly were all carried into the port of *Salee*. Our men were ſent to the Emperor's court to be ſold there; but the pirate Captain taking notice of me, kept me to be his own ſlave.

In this condition I thought myſelf the moſt miſerable creature on earth, and the prophecy of my father came afreſh into my thoughts. As it happened, my condition was better than I thought it to be, as will ſoon appear. Some hopes indeed I had, that my new patron would go to ſea again, where he might be taken by a *Spaniſh* or *Portugueſe* man of war, and then I ſhould be ſet at liberty. But in this I was miſtaken, for he never took me with him, but left me to look after his little

garden,

garden, and do the drudgery of his houſe; and when he returned from ſea, would make me lie in the cabin, and look after the ſhip. I had no one that I could communicate my thoughts to, which were continually meditating my eſcape; no *Engliſhman*, *Iriſhman*, or *Scotchman* here, but myſelf; and for two years I could ſee nothing practicable, but only pleaſe myſelf with the imagination.

After ſome length of time, my patron, as I found, grew ſo poor, that he could not fit out his ſhip as uſual: And then he uſed conſtantly, once or twice a week, if the weather was fair, to go out a fiſhing, taking me and a young *Moreſco* boy to row the boat; and ſo much pleaſed was he with me for my dexterity in catching the fiſh, that he would often ſend me with a *Moor*, who was one of his kinſmen, and the *Moreſco* youth, to catch a diſh of fiſh for him.

One morning, as we were at the ſport, there aroſe ſuch a thick fog, that we loſt ſight of the ſhore; and rowing we knew not which way, we laboured all the night, and in the morning found ourſelves in the ocean, two leagues from land; however, we attained there at length, and we made the greater haſte, becauſe our ſtomachs were exceedingly ſharp and hungry. But the better to prevent ſuch diſaſters, my patron ordered a carpenter to build a little ſtateroom or cabin in the middle of the long boat, with a place behind it to ſteer and hawl home the main ſheet, with other conveniences, to keep him from the weather, as alſo lockers to put in all manner of proviſions; with a handſome ſhoulder of mutton ſail, gibing over the cabin.

In this he frequently took us a fiſhing; and one time inviting two or three perſons of diſtinction to go with him, made proviſion extraordinary, providing alſo three fuzees, with powder and ſhot, that they might have ſome ſport at fowling along the ſea coaſt. The next morning, the boat being clean, her ancients and pendents out, and every thing ready, their minds altering, my patron ordered us to go a fiſhing, for that his gueſts would certainly ſup with him that night.

And now I began to think of my deliverance indeed: In order to this, I perſuaded the *Moor* to get ſome proviſions on board, as not daring to meddle with our patron's; who, taking my advice, we ſtored ourſelves with ruſk biſcuit, and three jars of water; beſides I privately conveyed into the boat a bottle of brandy, ſome twine, thread, a hammer, hatchet, and a ſaw; in particular ſome beeſwax, which was a great comfort to me, and ſerved to make candles. I then perſuaded *Muley* (for ſo was the *Moor* called) to procure ſome powder and ſhot, pretending to kill ſea curlews, to which he innocently and readily agreed. And in ſhort, being provided with all

things

things neceſſary, we ſailed out, reſolving for my own part to make my eſcape, though it might coſt me my life.

When we had paſſed the caſtle, we fell to fiſhing; but though I knew there was a bite, I diſſembled the matter, in order to put farther out to ſea. Accordingly we ran a league farther; when giving the boy the helm, and pretending to ſtoop for ſomething, I ſeized *Muley* by ſurpriſe, and threw him overboard. He was an excellent ſwimmer, ſoon aroſe, and made towards the boat; upon which I took out a fuzee, and preſented it at him: *Muley*, ſaid I, *I never yet deſigned to do you any harm, and ſeek nothing now but my redemption. I know you are able enough to ſwim to ſhore and ſave your life; but if you are reſolved to follow me, to the endangering of mine, the very moment you proceed I will ſhoot you through the head.* The harmleſs creature, at theſe words, turned himſelf from me, and I make no doubt got ſafe to land. Then turning to the boy *Xury*, I perceived he trembled at the action; but I put him out of all fear, telling him, that if he would be true and faithful to me, I would do well by him: *And therefore*, ſaid I, *you muſt ſtroke your face to be faithful, and, as the* Turks *have learnt you, ſwear by* Mahomet, *and the beard of your father, or elſe I will throw you into the ſea alſo.* So innocent did the child then look, and with ſuch an obliging ſmile, conſented, that I readily believed him, and, from that day forward, began to love him entirely.

Thus we purſued our voyage, and that they ſhould think me gone to the *Strait's* mouth, I kept to the ſouthward to the truly *Barbarian* coaſt; but in the duſk of the evening, I changed my courſe, and ſteered directly S. by E. that I might keep near the ſhore; and having a freſh gale of wind, with a pleaſant ſmooth ſea, by three o'clock the next day I was 150 miles beyond the Emperor of *Morocco*'s dominions. Yet ſtill having the dreadful apprehenſions of being retaken, I continued ſailing for five days ſucceſſively, till ſuch time as the wind ſhifting to the ſouthward, made me conclude, that if any veſſel was in chaſe of me they would proceed no farther: And after ſo much fatigue and thought, I anchored in the mouth of a little river, I knew not what, or where; neither did I then ſee any people. What I principally wanted was freſh water; and I was reſolved, about duſk, to ſwim aſhore. But no ſooner did the gloomy clouds of night begin to ſucceed the declining day, than we heard ſuch barking, roaring, and howling of wild creatures, that one might have thought the very ſtrangeſt monſters of nature, or infernal ſpirits, had their reſidence there. Poor *Xury*, almoſt dead with fear, entreated me not to go on ſhore that night. *Suppoſing I don't* Xury, ſaid I, *and in the morning we ſhould ſee men, who are worſe than thoſe we fear; what then? O den we may*

give

give dem de ſhoot gun, replied *Xury*, laughing, *and de gun make dem all run away*. The wit, and broken *Engliſh*, which the boy had learnt from the captives of our nation, pleaſed me entirely, and to add to his cheerfulneſs, I gave him a dram of the bottle: We could get but little ſleep all the night for the terrible howlings they made; and indeed we were both affrighted very much, when, by the rowling of the water, and other tokens, we juſtly concluded one of thoſe monſters made towards our boat; I could not ſee it till it came within two oars length, when, taking my fuzee, I let fly at him: Whether I hit him or no, I cannot tell; but he made towards the ſhore, and the noiſe of my gun encreaſed the ſtupenduous noiſe of the monſters.

The next morning, I was reſolved to go on ſhore to get freſh water, and venture my life among beaſts or ſavages, ſhould either attack me. *Xury* ſaid he would take one of the jars and bring me ſome. I aſked him why he would go, and not I. The poor boy anſwered, *if wild mans come, they eat me, you go away*. A mind ſcarcely now to be imitated, ſo contrary to ſelf preſervation, the moſt powerful law of nature! This indeed encreaſed my affection to the child. *Well, dear* Xury, ſaid I, *we will both go aſhore, both eat wild mans, and they ſhall eat neither of us*. So giving *Xury* a piece of ruſk bread to eat, and a dram, we waded aſhore, carrying nothing with us but our arms, and two jars for water. I did not go out of ſight of the boat, as dreading the ſavages coming down the river in their canoes. But the boy ſeeing a low deſcent, or vale, about a mile in the country, he wandered to it; and then running back to me with great precipitation, I thought he was purſued by ſome ſavage or wild beaſt, upon which I approached, reſolving to periſh or protect him from danger. As he came nearer to me, I ſaw ſomething hanging over his ſhoulders, which was a creature he had ſhot, like a hare, but different in colour, and longer legs; however, we were glad of it, for it proved wholeſome nouriſhing meat; but what added to our joy was, my boy aſſured me there was plenty of water, and that he *ſee no wild mans*. And greater ſtill was our comfort, when we found freſh water in the creek, where we were, when the tide was out, without going ſo far up into the country.

In this place I began to conſider that the *Canary* and the *Cape de Verd* iſlands lay not far off; but having no inſtrument, I knew not what latitude, or when to ſtand off to ſea for them; yet my hopes were, I ſhould meet ſome of the *Engliſh* trading veſſels, who would relieve and take us up.

The place I was in was, no doubt, that wild ſort of country, inhabited only by a few, that lies between the Emperor of *Morocco's* dominions and the *Negroes*: It was filled with wild

beaſts,

beasts, and the *Moors* use it for hunting chiefly. From this place I thought I saw the top of the mountain *Teneriffe*, in the *Canaries*; which made me try twice to attain it, but as often was I drove back, and so forced to pursue my fortune along the shore.

Early one morning we came to an anchor under a little point of land, but pretty high, and the tide beginning to flow, we lay ready to go farther in: But *Xury*, whose youthful and penetrating eyes were sharper than mine, in a soft tone, desired me to keep far from land, lest we should be devoured: *For, look yonder, Meyter*, said he, *and see de dreadful monster fast asleep on the side of the hill.* Accordingly, looking where he pointed, I espied a fearful monster indeed; it was a terrible great lion that lay on shore, covered, as it were, by the shade of a piece of the hill: *Xury*, said I, *you shall go on shore and kill him.* But the boy looked amazed: *Me kill him*, says he, *he eat me at one mouth*; meaning one mouthful. Upon which I bid him lie still, and charging my biggest gun with two slugs, and a good charge of powder, I took the best aim I could to shoot him through the head, but his leg lying over his nose, the slug broke his knee bone. The lion, awaking with the pain, got up, but soon fell down, giving the most hideous groan I ever heard: But taking my second piece, I shot him through the head, and then he lay struggling for life. Upon this *Xury* took heart, and desired my leave to go on shore. *Go then*, said I. Upon which taking a little gun in one hand, he swam to shore with the other, and coming close to the lion, put a period to his life, by shooting him again through the head.

But this was spending our ammunition in vain, the flesh not being good to eat. *Xury* was like a champion, and comes on board for a hatchet to cut off the head of his enemy; which not having strength to perform, cut off a foot. But I bethought myself that his skin would be of great use, which cost *Xury* and I a whole day's work; when spreading it on the top of our cabin, the hot beams of the sun so effectually dried it, in two days time, that it afterwards served me for a bed to lie upon.

And now we sailed southwardly, living sparingly on our provisions, and went no oftener on shore than we were obliged for fresh water. My design was to make the river *Gambia* or *Senegal*, or any where about the *Cape de Verd*, in hopes to meet some *European* ship. If Providence did not so favour, my next course was to seek for the islands, or lose my life among the *Negroes*. And, in a word, I put my whole stress upon this, *either that I must meet with some ship, or certainly perish.*

But, as we were sailing along, we saw people stand on the shore to look at us; we could also perceive they were black

and ſtark naked. I was inclined to go on ſhore; but *Xury* cried, *No, no*; however, I approached nearer, and I found they ran along the ſhore by me a good way: They had no weapons in their hands; except one, who held a long ſtick, which *Xury* told me was a lance, with which they could kill at a great diſtance. I talked to them by ſigns, and made them ſenſible I wanted ſomething to eat: They beckoned to me to ſtop my boat, while two of them run up into the country and in leſs than half an hour came back and brought with them two pieces of dry fleſh, and ſome corn, which we kindly accepted; and to prevent any fears of either ſide, they brought the food to the ſhore, laid it down, then went and ſtood a great way off, till we fetched it on board, and then came cloſe to us again.

But while we were returning thanks to them, being all we could offer, two mighty creatures came from the mountains, one as it were purſuing the other with great fury, which we were inclined to believe, becauſe they ſeldom appear but in the night; and both theſe paſſing ſwiftly by the *Negroes*, jumped into the ſea, wantonly ſwimming about, as though the diverſion of the waters had put a ſtop to their fierceneſs. At laſt, one of them coming nearer my boat than I expected or deſired, I ſhot him directly through the head; upon which he ſunk immediately, yet riſing again, would have willingly made to the ſhore; but between the wound and the ſtrangling of the water, he died before he could reach it.

It is not poſſible for me to expreſs the conſternation the poor *Negroes* were in at the firing my gun; much leſs can I mention their ſurpriſe, when they perceived the creature to be ſlain by it. I made ſigns to them to draw near it, and then gave them a rope to hale it on ſhore. It was a beautiful leopard, which made me deſire its ſkin; and the *Negroes* ſeeming to covet the carcaſe, I very freely gave it to them. As for the other leopard, it made to ſhore, and ran with a prodigious ſwiftneſs out of ſight. The *Negroes* having kindly furniſhed me with water, and with what roots and grain their country afforded, I took my leave, and after eleven days ſail, I came in ſight of the *Cape de Verd*, and thoſe iſlands called by its name. But the great diſtance I was from it, and fearing contrary winds would prevent my reaching either of them, I grew melancholy, and dejected; when, on a ſudden, *Xury* cried out, *Maſter, Maſter, a ſhip with a ſail*; and looked ſo frightened, as if it was his maſter's ſhip ſent in ſearch of us: But I ſoon diſcovered ſhe was a *Portugueze* ſhip, and, as I thought, bound to the coaſt of *Guinea*, for *Negroes*. Upon which I ſtrove for life to get up to them; but vain had it been, if, through their perſpective glaſſes, they had not perceived me, and ſhortened their ſail to let me come up. Encouraged

at this, I ſet up my patron's ancient, and fired a gun, both as ſignals of diſtreſs; upon which they very kindly lay to; ſo that in three hours time I got up with them. They ſpoke to me in *Portugueſe*, *Spaniſh*, and *French*, but neither of theſe did I underſtand; till at length a *Scotch* ſailor called, and then I told him I was an *Engliſhman*, who had eſcaped from the *Moors* of *Salle*; upon which they took me kindly on board, with all my effects.

Surely none can expreſs that inconceivable joy my heart felt at this my happy deliverance; who, from being a miſerable and forlorn creature, was not only relieved, but in favour with the maſter of the ſhip, whom in return for my deliverance I offered all I had to him; *God forbid*, ſaid he, *that I ſhould take any thing from you; every thing ſhall be delivered to you when you come to* Braſil: *If I have ſaved your life, it is no more than I ſhould expect to receive myſelf from any other, when in the ſame circumſtances I ſhould happen to meet the like deliverance; and ſhould I take from you what you have, and leave you at* Braſil, *why this would only be taking away a life I have given; my charity teaches me better; thoſe effects you have, will ſupport you there, and provide you a paſſage home again.* And indeed he acted with the ſtricteſt juſtice in what he did, taking my things in his poſſeſſion, and giving me an exact inventory, even to my earthen jars. He bought my boat of me for the ſhip's uſe, giving me a note of eighty pieces of eight, payable at *Braſil*, and if any body offered more he would make it up. He alſo gave me ſixty pieces for my boy *Xury*. It was with great reluctance I was prevailed upon to ſell the child's liberty, who had ſerved me ſo faithfully; but the boy himſelf was willing, and it was agreed, that after ten years, he ſhould be made free, upon his renouncing *Mahometaniſm* and embracing Chriſtianity.

Having a pleaſant voyage to the *Braſils*, we arrived in the *Bay de Todos los Santos*, or *All Saints Bay*, in about 22 days after. And here I cannot forget the generous treatment of the Captain; he would take nothing for my paſſage, gave me 20 ducats for the leopard's ſkin, and 30 for the lion's: Every thing he cauſed to be delivered; and what I would ſell he bought. In ſhort, I made about 220 pieces of my cargo, and with this ſtock I entered once more, as I may ſay, into the *ſcene of life*.

Being recommended to an honeſt planter, I lived with him till ſuch time as I was informed of the manner of their planting and making ſugar; and ſeeing how well they lived, and how ſuddenly they grew rich, I was filled with an emulation, at leaſt, to ſettle among them, reſolving to get my money remitted to me, and to purchaſe me a plantation.

To

To be brief, I bought a ſettlement next door to an honeſt and kind neighbour, born at *Liſbon*, of *Engliſh* parents, whoſe plantation joining to mine, we improved it very amicably together: Both our ſtocks were low, and for two years we planted only for food: But the third year we planted ſome tobacco, preparing each a large piece of ground for planting canes the enſuing year; but now wanting aſſiſtance, I repented the loſs of my dear boy *Xury*.

Here having none to aſſiſt me, my father's words came again into my mind; and if only a middle ſtation of life I ſought, why could it not as well be obtained in *England* as here? When I pondered of this with regret, the thoughts of my late deliverance forſook me; I had none to converſe with but my neighbour; no work to be done but by my own hands; and this often made me ſay, my condition was like that of a man caſt upon a deſolate iſland. So unhappy are we in our reflections, ſo forgetful what good things we receive ourſelves, and ſo unthankful for our deliverance from thoſe calamities that others endure.

I was in ſome meaſure ſettled before the Captain who took me up departed from the *Braſils*. One day I went to him, and told him what ſtock I had in *London*, deſiring his aſſiſtance in obtaining its remittance. To which the good gentleman readily conſented, but would only have me ſend for half my money, leſt it ſhould miſcarry, which, if it did, the remainder might ſupport me: And ſo taking letters of procuration from me, bid me trouble myſelf no farther about it.

And indeed wonderful was his kindneſs towards me; for he not only procured the money I had drawn for upon my Captain's widow, but ſent me over a ſervant, with a cargo proportionable to my condition. He alſo ſent me over tools of all ſorts, iron work, and utenſils neceſſary for my plantation, and which proved of the greateſt uſe to me in my buſineſs.

Wealth now accumulating on me, and uncommon ſucceſs crowning my proſperous labours, I might have reſted happy in that middle ſtate of life my father had ſo often recommended; yet nothing would content me, ſuch was my evil genius; but I muſt leave this happy ſtation, for a fooliſh ambition in riſing greater than the nature of the thing admitted; and thus, once more, I caſt myſelf into the deepeſt gulf of miſery that ever abandoned creature fell into. For having lived four years in *Braſil*, I not only learnt the language, but contracted acquaintance with the moſt eminent planters, and even the merchants of *St. Salvadore*; to whom, by way of diſcourſe, giving an account of my two voyages to the coaſt of *Guinea*, and the manner of trading there for mere trifles, by which we might furniſh our plantations with *Negroes*, they gave ſuch

attention

attention to what I ſaid, that three of them came one morning to me, and told me they had a ſecret propoſal to make. After enjoining me to ſecreſy (it being an infringement on the powers of the Kings of *Portugal* and *Spain*) they told me they had a mind to fit out a ſhip to go to *Guinea*, in order to ſtock the plantation with *Negroes*, which, as they could not be publicly ſold, they would divide among them; and if I would go their ſupercargo in the ſhip, to manage the trading part, I ſhould have an equal ſhare of the *Negroes*, without providing any ſtock. The thing indeed was fair enough, had I been in another condition; but I, born to be my own deſtroyer, could not reſiſt the propoſal; but accepted the offer, upon condition of their looking after my plantation: So, making a formal will, I bequeathed my effects to my good friend the Captain, as my univerſal heir; but obliged him to diſpoſe of my effects as directed, one half of my produce to himſelf, and the other to be ſhipped for *England*.

The ſhip being fitted out, and all things ready, we ſet ſail the firſt of *September*, 1659, being the ſame day eight years I left my father and mother in *Yorkſhire*. We ſailed northward upon the coaſt, in order to gain *Africa*, till we made *Cape Auguſtine*, from whence going further in the ocean, out of ſight of land, we ſteered as though we were bound for the iſle of *Fernand de Noremba*, leaving the iſlands on the eaſt; and then it was we met with a cruel tempeſt, which held us for twelve days ſucceſſively; ſo that the waters carried us wherefoever they pleaſed. In this perplexity one of our men died, and one man and the boy were waſhed overboard. When the weather cleared up a little, we found ourſelves eleven degrees north latitude upon the coaſt of *Guinea*. Upon this the Captain gave reaſons for returning, which I oppoſed, counſelling him to ſtand away for *Barbadoes*, which, as I ſuppoſed, might be attained in 15 days. So altering our courſe, we ſailed north weſt and by weſt, in order to reach the *Leeward* iſlands; but a ſecond ſtorm ſucceeding, drove us to the weſtward, ſo that we were juſtly afraid of falling into the hands of cruel *Savages*, or the paws of devouring beaſts of prey.

In this great diſtreſs, one of our men, early in the morning, cried out, *Land! Land!* when no ſooner looking out, but our ſhip ſtruck upon a ſand, and in a moment the ſea broke over in ſuch a manner, that we expected we ſhould all have periſhed immediately. We knew nothing where we were, or upon what land we were driven; whether an iſland or the main; inhabited or not inhabited; and we could not ſo much as hope that the ſhip would hold many minutes, without breaking in pieces, except, the wind, by a miracle, ſhould turn about immediately. While we ſtood looking at one another, expecting death every moment, the mate laid hold of the boat,

and, with the help of the reſt, got her ſlung over the ſhip's ſide, and getting all into her, being eleven of us, committed ourſelves to God's mercy, and the wild ſea. And now we ſaw that this laſt effort would not be a ſufficient protection from death; ſo high did the ſea run, that it was impoſſible the boat ſhould live. As to making ſail, we had none; neither if we had, could we make uſe of any. So that when we had rowed, or rather were driven about a league and a half, a raging wave, like a lofty mountain, came rolling a ſtern of us, and took us with ſuch fury, that at once it overſet the boat. Thus being ſwallowed up in a moment, we had hardly time to call upon the tremendous name of God; much leſs to implore, in dying ejaculations, his infinite mercy, to receive our departing ſouls.

Men are generally counted inſenſible, when ſtruggling in the pangs of death; but while I was overwhelmed with water, I had the moſt dreadful apprehenſions imaginable; for the joys of heaven, and torments of hell, ſeemed to preſent themſelves before me in theſe dying agonies, and even in the ſmall ſpace of time, as it were, between life and death. I was going, I thought, I knew not whither, in a diſmal gulf unknown, and as yet unperceived, never to behold my friends, nor the light of this world any more! Could I even have thought annihilation, or a total diſſolution of ſoul as well as body, the gloomy thoughts of having no further being, no knowledge of what we hoped for, but an eternal quietus, without life or ſenſe; even that, I ſay, would have been enough to ſtrike me with horror and confuſion! But ſtriving to the laſt extremity, while I thought all my companions were overpowered and entombed in the deep, it was with great difficulty I kept my breath till the wave ſpent itſelf, and retiring back, left me on the ſhore half dead with the water I had taken in. However, I got on my feet as faſt as I could, left another wave ſhould purſue, and carry me back again; but for all the haſte I made, I could not avoid it; for the ſea came after me like a high mountain, or furious enemy, ſo that my buſineſs was to hold my breath, and by raiſing myſelf on the water, preſerve it by ſwimming; the next dreadful wave buried me at once twenty or thirty feet deep, but at the ſame time carried me with a mighty force and ſwiftneſs towards the ſhore; when raiſing myſelf, I held out as well as poſſible, till at length the water having ſpent itſelf, began to return, at which I ſtruck forward, and feeling ground with my feet, I took to my heels again; thus being ſerved twice more, I was at laſt daſhed againſt a piece of a rock, in ſuch a manner as left me ſenſeleſs; but recovering a little before the return of the waves, which, no doubt, then would have overwhelmed me, I held faſt by the rock till thoſe ſucceeding waves abated; and then, fetching

another

another run, was overtook by a ſmall wave, which was ſoon conquered; but before any more could overtake me, I reached the main land, where clambering up the clifts of the ſhore, tired and almoſt ſpent, I ſat down on the graſs, free from the dangers of the foaming ocean.

No tongue can expreſs the ecſtaſies and tranſports that my ſoul felt at this happy deliverance; it was like a reprieve to a dying malefactor, with the halter about his neck, and ready to be turned off. I was wrapt up in contemplation, and often lifted up my hands, with the profoundeſt humility, to the Divine Power, for ſaving my life, when the reſt of my companions were all drowned. And now I began to caſt my eyes around, to behold what place I was in, and what I had next to do. I could ſee no houſe, nor people: I was wet, yet had no clothes to ſhift me; hungry and thirſty, yet nothing to eat or drink; no weapon to deſtroy any creature for my ſuſtenance, nor defend myſelf againſt devouring beaſts: In ſhort, I had nothing but a knife, a tobacco pipe, and a box half filled with tobacco. The darkſome night coming upon me, increaſed my fears of being devoured by wild creatures; my mind was plunged in deſpair; and, having no proſpect, as I thought, of life before me, prepared for another kind of death than what I had lately eſcaped. I walked about a furlong, to ſee if I could find any freſh water, which I did to my great joy, and taking a quid of tobacco to prevent hunger, I got up into a thick buſhy tree, and ſeating myſelf ſo that I could not fall, a deep ſleep overtook me, and for that night buried my ſorrows in a quiet repoſe.

It was broad day the next morning before I awaked; when not only I perceived the tempeſt was ceaſed, but the ſhip was driven almoſt as far as the rock before mentioned, where the waves had daſhed me againſt, and which was about a mile from the place where I was. When I came down from my apartment in the tree, I perceived the ſhip's boat two miles diſtant on my right hand, lying on ſhore, as the waves had caſt her. I thought to have got to her, but there being an inlet of water of about half a mile's breadth between it and me, I returned again towards the ſhip, as hoping to find ſomething for my more immediate ſubſiſtence. About noon, when the ſea was calm, that I could come within a quarter of a mile of her, it was to my grief I perceived that, if we had kept on board, all our lives had been ſaved. Theſe thoughts, and my ſolitude, drew tears from my eyes, though all in vain. So reſolving to get to the ſhip, I ſtript, and leapt into the water; when ſwimming round her, I was afraid I ſhould not get any thing to lay hold of; but it was my good fortune to eſpy a ſmall piece of rope hang down by the fore chains, ſo low, that with great difficulty, by the help of it, I got into the forecaſtle

of

of the ſhip Here I found that the ſhip was bulged, and had a great deal of water in her hold; her ſtern was lifted up againſt a bank, and her head almoſt in the water. All her quarter, and what was there, were free and dry. The proviſions I found in good order, with which I crammed my pockets; and, loſing no time, ate when I was doing other things; I alſo found ſome rum, of which I took a hearty dram; and now I wanted for nothing except a boat which indeeed was all, to carry away what was needful for me.

Neceſſity occaſions quickneſs of thought. We had ſeveral ſpare yards, a ſpare topmaſt or two, and two or three large ſpars of wood: With theſe I fell to work, and flung as many of them overboard as I could manage, tying every one of them with a rope that they might not drive away. This done, I went down the ſhip's ſide, and tied four of them faſt together at both ends, in form of a raft, and laying two or three ſhort pieces of plank upon them croſsways, I found it would bear me, but not any conſiderable weight. Upon which I went to work again, cutting a ſpare topmaſt into three lengths, adding them to my raft with a great deal of labour and pains. I then conſidered what I ſhould load it with, it being not able to bear a ponderous burden. And this I ſoon thought of, firſt laying upon it all the planks and boards I could get; next I lowered down three of the ſeamens' cheſts, after I had filled them with bread, rice, three *Dutch* cheeſes, five pieces of dried goats' fleſh, and ſome *European* corn, what little the rats had ſpared; but for the liquors, I found ſeveral caſes of bottles belonging to our ſkipper. In which were ſome cordial waters, and four or five gallons of arrack, which I ſtowed by themſelves. By this time the tide beginning to flow, I perceived my coat, waiſtcoat, and ſhirt ſwim away, which I had left on the ſhore; as for my linen, breeches, and ſtockings, I ſwam with them on to the ſhip: But I ſoon found clothes enough, yet took no more than I wanted for the preſent. My eyes were chiefly on tools to work with; and after long ſearch I found out the carpenter's cheſt, which I got ſafe down on my raft: Then I looked for arms and ammunition, and, in the great cabin, found two good fowling pieces, two piſtols, ſeveral powder horns filled, a ſmall bag of ſhot, and two ruſty old ſwords. I alſo found three barrels of powder, two of which were good, but the third had taken water; with two or three broken oars, two ſaws, an axe, and a hammer, I put to ſea; and in getting to ſhore, I had three encouragements; 1. A ſmooth calm ſea. 2. The tide riſing and ſetting in to the ſhore. 3. The little wind there was blew towards land. But after I had ſailed about a mile, I found the raft to drive a little diſtance from the place where I firſt landed; and then I perceived a little opening of the land, with a

ſtrong

ſtrong current of the tide running into it, upon which I kept in the middle of the ſtream: But great was my concern, when on a ſudden the fore part of my raft ran aground; ſo that had I, not with great difficulty, for near half an hour, kept my back ſtraining againſt the cheſts, to keep my effects in their places, all I had would have gone into the ſea. But after ſome time, the riſing of the water cauſed the raft to float again, when coming up a little river, with land on both ſides, I landed in a little cove, as near the mouth as poſſible, the better to diſcover a ſail, if any ſuch providentially paſſed by that way.

Not far off, I ſpied a hill of a ſtupendous height, ſurrounded with leſſer hills about it: And thither I was reſolved to go and view the country, that I might ſee what part was the beſt place to fix my habitation in: Accordingly, arming myſelf with a piſtol, a fowling piece, powder, and ball, I aſcended the mountain: There I perceived I was in an iſland encompaſſed by the ſea; no diſtant lands to be ſeen, but ſcattered rocks that lay to the weſt; that it ſeemed a barren place, and, as I thought, inhabited only by wild beaſts. I perceived abundance of fowls, but was ignorant of what kind, or whether good for nouriſhment; I ſhot one of them at my return, which occaſioned a confuſed ſcreaming among the other birds; and I found it, by its colour and beak, to be a kind of hawk, but its fleſh was perfect carrion.

When I came to my raft, I brought my effects on ſhore, which work ſpent that day entirely; and fearing that ſome cruel beaſts might devour me in the night while I ſlept, I made a kind of a hut or barricade with the cheſts and boards I brought from ſhore. That night I ſlept very comfortably, and the next morning my thoughts were employed to make a further attempt on the ſhip, and bring away what neceſſaries I could find, before another ſtorm ſhould break her to pieces. Accordingly, I got on board as before, and prepared a ſecond raft, far more nice than the firſt; upon which I brought away the carpenter's ſtores, two or three bags full of nails, a great jack ſcrew, a dozen or two of hatchets, and a grindſtone. I alſo took away ſeveral things that belonged to the gunner, particularly two or three iron crows, two barrels of muſket bullets, another fowling piece, a ſmall quantity of powder, and a large bag full of ſmall ſhot. Beſides theſe, I took all the mens' clothes I could find, a ſpare fore top ſail, hammock, and ſome bedding; and thus completing my ſecond cargo, I made all the haſte to ſhore I could, fearing ſome wild beaſt might deſtroy what I had there already. But I only found a little wild cat ſitting on one of the cheſts, who not ſeeming to fear me, or the gun that I preſented to her, I threw her a piece of biſcuit, which ſhe inſtantly ate, and departed.

When

When I had gotten these effects on shore, I went to work, in order to make me a little tent with the sail and some poles which I had cut for that purpose; and having finished it, what things might be damaged by the weather I brought in, piling all the empty chests and casks in a circle, the better to fortify it against any sudden attempt of man or beast. After this I blocked up the doors with some boards, and an empty chest turned the long way without. I then charged my gun and pistol; and laying my bed on the ground, slept as comfortably, till next morning, as though I had been in a Christian country.

Now, though I had enough to subsist me a long time, yet, despairing of a sudden deliverance, or that both ammunition and provision might be spent before such a thing happened, I coveted as much as I could: And so long as the ship remained in that condition, I daily brought away one necessary or other; particularly the rigging, sails, and cordage; some twine, a barrel of wet powder, some sugar, a barrel of meal, three casks of rum; and what indeed was most welcome to me, a whole hogshead of bread.

The next time I went, I cut the cables in pieces, carried off a hauser whole, with a great deal of iron work, and made another raft with the mizen and sprit sail yards; but this being so unweildly, by the too heavy burden I laid upon it, and not being able dextrously to guide it as the former, both my cargo and I were overturned. For my part, all the damage I sustained was a wet skin; and at low water, after much labour in diving, I got most of the cables, and some pieces of iron.

Thirteen days had I now been in the island, and eleven times on board, bringing away all that was possible; though, I believe, had the weather been calm, I should have brought away the whole ship, piece by piece. As I was going the twelfth time, the wind began to rise; however, I ventured at low water, and rummaging the cabin effectually, in a locker I found several razors, scissars, and some dozens of knives and forks; and in another, thirty six pounds in pieces of eight, silver, and gold. *Ah! simple vanity*, said I, *whom this world so much doats on, where is now thy virtue, thy excellence to me? You cannot procure me one thing needful, nor remove me from this desolate island to a place of plenty: One of these knives, so meanly esteemed, is to me more preferable than all this heap: E'en therefore remain where thou art, to sink in the deep, as unregarded, even as a creature whose life is not worth preserving.* Yet after all this exclamation, I wrapt it up in a piece of canvas, and began to think of making another raft; but soon I perceived the wind began to rise, a fresh gale blowing from the shore, and the sky overcast with clouds and darkness. So thinking a raft to be in vain, I let myself into the water with what things

I had

I had about me, and it was with much difficulty I got a-ſhore, when ſoon after it blew a fearful ſtorm.

That night I ſlept very contentedly in my little tent, ſurrounded with all my effects; but when I looked out in the morning, no more ſhip was to be ſeen. This much ſurpriſed me for the preſent, yet when I conſidered I had loſt no time, abated no pains, and had got every thing uſeful out of her, I comforted myſelf in the beſt manner, and entirely ſubmitted to the will of Providence.

My next thoughts were, how I ſhould defend and ſecure myſelf from ſavages and wild beaſts, if any ſuch were in the iſland. At one time I thought of digging a cave; at another, I was for erecting a tent; and, in ſhort, I reſolved to do both: The manner or form of which will not, I hope, be unpleaſing to deſcribe.

When I conſidered the ground where I was; that it was mooriſh, and had no freſh water near it; my reſolutions were to ſearch for a ſoil healthy and well watered, where I might not only be ſheltered from the ſun's ſcorching heat, but be more conveniently ſituated, as well to be ſecured from wild men and beaſts of prey, as more eaſily to diſcover any diſtant ſail ſhould it ſo happen.

And indeed it was not long before I had my deſire; I found a little plain near a riſing hill, the front towards which being as ſteep as a houſe ſide, nothing could deſcend on me from the top. On the ſide of this rock was a little hollow place reſembling the entrance or door of a cave. Juſt before this place, on the circle of the green, I reſolved my tent ſhould ſtand. This plan did not much exceed 100 yards broad, and about twice as long, like a delightful green before my door, with a pleaſing, though irregular deſcent every way to the low grounds by the ſea ſide, lying on the N. N. W. ſide of the hill, ſo that it was ſheltered from the exceſſive heat of the ſun. After this I drew a ſemicircle, containing ten yards in its ſemidiameter, and twenty yards in the whole, driving down two rows of ſtrong ſtakes, not ſix inches from each other. Then, with the pieces of cable which I had cut on board, I regularly laid them in the circle, between the piles up to their tops, which were more than five feet out of the earth, and after drove another row of piles looking within ſide againſt them, between two or three feet high, which made me conclude it a little impregnable caſtle, from men and beaſts: And, for my better ſecurity, I would have no door, but entered in and came out by the help of a ladder, which I alſo made.

Here was my fence and fortreſs, into which I carried all my riches, ammunition and ſtores. After which, working on the rock, what with the dirt and ſtones I dug out, I not only

raiſed

raised my ground two feet; but made a little cellar to my mansion house; and this cost me many days labour and pains. But one day in particular a shower of rain falling, thunder and lightning ensued, which put me in terror, lest my powder should take fire, and not only hinder my necessary subsistence by killing me food, but even blow up me and my habitation: To prevent which, I fell to making boxes and bags, in order to separate it, having by me near 150lb. weight. And thus being established as king of the island, every day I went out with my gun to see what I could kill that was fit to eat. I soon perceived numbers of goats, but very shy: Yet having watched narrowly, and seeing I could better shoot off the rocks, than when in the low grounds, I one day happened to shoot a she goat suckling a young kid; who not thinking its dam slain, stood by her unconcerned; and when I took the dead creature up, the young one followed me even to the inclosure. I lifted the kid over the pales, and would willingly have kept it alive; but finding it could not be brought to eat, I was forced to slay it also for my own subsistence.

Thus entered into a strange scene of life, as ever any man was in, I had most melancholy apprehensions concerning my deplorable condition; and many times the tears would plentifully run down my face, when I considered how I was debarred from all communication with human kind. And while some desponding cogitations would seem to make me accuse providence, other good thoughts would interpose and reprove, after this manner: Well, supposing you are desolate, is it not better to be so, than totally perish? Why were you singled out to be saved, and the rest destroyed? Why should you complain, when not only your life is preserved, but the ship driven even into your reach, in order to take what was necessary out of her for your subsistence? But to proceed: It was, by the account I kept, the 30th of *September*, when I first landed on this island: About twelve days after, fearing I should lose my reckoning of time, nay even forget the *Sabbath-days*, for want of pen, ink, and paper; I carved it with a knife upon a large post, in great letters, and setting it up where I landed, viz. *I came on shore Sept.* 30, 1659. Every day I cut a notch with my knife on the sides of this square post, and that on *Sabbath* was as long again as the rest; and every first day of the month as long again as that long one: In this manner I kept my kalendar, weekly, monthly, or yearly reckoning of time. But had I made a more strict search (as I did afterwards) I need not have set up this mark: For among the parcels belonging to the gunner, carpenter, and Captain's mate, those very things I wanted I found, particularly pens, ink, and paper; also two or three compasses, some mathemati-

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cal instruments, dials, perspectives, books of navigation, three *English* bibles, and several other good books, which I carefully put up. But here I cannot but call to mind our having a dog and two cats on board, whom I made inhabitants with me in my castle. But though one might think I had all such necessaries as were desirable, yet still I found several things wanting. My ink was daily wasting; I wanting needles, pins, and thread, to mend or keep my clothes together; particularly a spade, pick axe, or shovel, to remove the earth: It was a year before I finished my little bulwark; and having some intervals of relaxation, after my daily wandering abroad for provision, I drew up this plan alternately, as creditor and debtor, to remind me of the miseries and blessings of my life, under so many various circumstances.

E V I L.	G O O D.
I am cast upon a desolate island, having no hopes, no prospect of a welcome deliverance.	*But yet I am preserved, while my companions have perished in the raging ocean.*
Thus miserably am I singled out from the enjoyment or company of all mankind.	*Yet set apart to be spared from death! and he who has so preserved me can deliver me from this condition.*
Like an hermit (rather should I say, a lonely anchorite) am I forced from human conversation.	*However I have food to eat, and even a happy prospect of subsistence whilst life endures.*
My clothes, after some time, will be worn out; and then I shall have none to cover me.	*At present I enjoy what is absolutely needful; and the climate is so hot, that, had I ever so many, I should hardly wear them.*
When my ammunition is wasted, then shall I remain without any defence against wild men and beasts.	*Yet if it does, I see no danger of any to hurt me, as in* Africa: *And what if I had been cast away on that coast?*
I have no creature, no soul to speak to; none to beg assistance from. Some comfort would it be to resound my woes, where I am understood; and beg assistance, where I might hope for relief.	*Is there not God to converse to, and is not he able to relieve thee? Already has he afforded thee sustenance, and put it in thy power to provide for thyself till he sends thee a deliverance.*

And now easing my mind a little by these reflections, I began to render my life as easy as possible. I must here add, to the description I have given of my habitation, that having raised a turf wall against the outside of it, I thatched it so close, as might keep it from the inclemency of the weather. I also improved it within, enlarged my cave, and made a pas-

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ſage and door in the rock, which came out beyond the pale of my fortification. I next proceeded to make a chair and table, and ſo began to ſtudy thoſe mechanical arts that ſeemed to me practicable: For when I wanted a plank or board, I hewed down a tree with my hatchet, making it as thin with my axe as poſſible, and then ſmooth enough with my adze to anſwer my deſigns; yet this way could I make no more than one board out of a tree: But in length of time I got boards enough to ſhelter all my ſtores, every thing being regularly placed, and my guns ſecurely hanging againſt the ſide of the rock. All this made it a very pleaſant ſight to me, being the reſult of vaſt labour and diligence; which leaving for a while, and me to the enjoyment of, I ſhall give the reader an account of my Journal, from the day of my landing, till the fixing and ſettling of my habitation, as heretofore ſhewn.

JOURNAL.

September 30, 1659. I unhappy *Robinſon Cruſoe*, having ſuffered ſhipwreck, was driven on this deſolate iſland, which I named the *Deſolate Iſland of Deſpair*, the reſt being ſwallowed up in the tempeſtuous ocean. The next day I ſpent in conſideration of my unhappy circumſtances, having no proſpect, but of death, either to be ſtarved with hunger, or devoured by beaſts or mercileſs ſavages.

Octob. 1. That morning, with great comfort, I beheld the ſhip drove aſhore. Some hopes I had, that when the ſtorm was abated, I might be able to get ſome food and neceſſaries out of her; which I conceived were not damaged, becauſe the ſhip did ſtand upright. At this time I lamented the loſs of my companions, and our misfortune in leaving the veſſel. When I perceived the ſhip, as it were, lie dry, I waded through the ſands, then ſwam aboard, the weather being very rainy, and with ſcarcely any wind.

To the 24th of this month, my time was employed in making voyages, every tide getting what I could out of the ſhip. The weather very wet and uncertain.

Octob. 20. My raft, and all the goods thereon, were overſet; yet I recovered moſt of them again at low water.

Octob. 25. It blew hard, and rained night and day, when the ſhip diſſolved in pieces, ſo that nothing was ſeen of her but the wreck at low water. This day I ſecured my goods from the inclemency of the weather.

Octob. 26. I wandered to ſee where I could find a place convenient for my abode. I fixed upon a rock, in the evening, marked out a half moon, intending to erect a wall, fortified with piles, lined within with pieces of cables, and covered with turf.

Nov.

Nov. 1. I erected my tent under a rock; and took up my lodging very contentedly in a hammock that night.

Nov. 2. This day I fenced myself in with timber, chests, and boards.

Nov. 3. I shot two wild fowl, resembling ducks, which were good to eat; and in the afternoon made me a table.

Nov. 4. I began to live regularly: In the morning, I allowed myself two or three hours to walk out with my gun; then worked till near 11 o'clock: And after refreshed myself with what I had to eat. From 12 to 2 I would lie down to sleep. Extreme sultry weather: In the evening go to work again.

Nov. 5. Went out with my gun and dog, shot a wild cat with a soft skin, but her flesh was good for nothing. The skins of those I killed I preserved. In my return I perceived many wild birds, and was terrified by some seals, which made off to sea.

Nov. 6. Completed my table.

Nov. 7. Fair weather. I worked till the 12th, but omitted the 11th, which, according to my calculation, I supposed to be *Sunday*.

Nov. 13. Rain in abundance, which however much cooled the earth, when thunder and lightning caused in me a terrible surprize. The weather clearing, in separate parcels I secured my powder.

Nov. 14 to 16. I made little boxes for my powder, lodging them in several places. I also shot a large fowl, which proved excellent meat.

Nov. 17. I began to dig in the rock, yet was obliged to desist for want of a pick axe, shovel, and wheelbarrow. Iron crows I caused to supply the place of the first, but with all my art could not make a wheelbarrow.

Nov. 18. It was my fortune to find a tree, resembling what the *Brasilians* call an iron tree. I had like to have spoiled my axe with cutting it, being very hard, and exceeding heavy; yet with much labour and industry I made a sort of a spade out of it.

Nov. 23. These tools being made, I daily carried on my business; eighteen days I allowed for enlarging my cave, that it might serve me not only for a warehouse, but kitchen, parlour, and cellar. I commonly lay in the tent, unless the weather was rainy that I could not lie dry. So wet would it be at certain seasons, that I was obliged to cover all within the pale with long poles in the form of rafters leaning against the rock, and load them with flags and large leaves of trees resembling a thatch.

Dec. 10. No sooner did I think my habitation finished, but suddenly a great deal of the top broke in, so that it was a mer-

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cy I was not buried in the ruins. This occaſioned a great deal of pains and trouble to me, before I could make it firm and durable.

Dec. 17. I nailed up ſome ſhelves, and drove nails and ſtaples in the wall and poſts, to hang things out of the way.

Dec. 20. Every thing I got into its place, then made a ſort of a dreſſer, and another table.

Dec. 24, 25. Rain in abundance.

Dec. 26. Very fair weather.

Dec. 27. I chanced to light on ſome goats, ſhot one, wounded another. I led it home in a ſtring, bound up its leg, and cured it in a little time; at length it became ſo tame and familiar, as to feed before the door, and follow me where I pleaſed. This put me in mind to bring up tame creatures, in order to ſupply me with food after my ammunition was ſpent.

Dec. 28, 29, 30. The weather being exceſſive hot, with little air, obliged me for the moſt part to keep within doors.

Jan. 1. Still ſultry. However, obliged by neceſſity, I went out with my gun, and found a great ſtore of goats in the vallies; they were exceedingly ſhy, nor could my dog hunt them down.

Jan. 3, to 14. My employment this time was to finiſh the wall before deſcribed, and ſearch the iſland. I diſcovered a kind of pigeons like our houſe pigeons, in a neſt among the rocks: I brought them home, nurſed them till they could fly, and then they left me. After this I ſhot ſome, which proved excellent food. Some time I ſpent vainly in contriving to make a caſk; I may well ſay it was vain, becauſe I could neither join the ſtaves, or fix the heads, ſo as to make it tight. Then taking ſome goat's tallow I had by me, and a little *oakum* for the wick, I provided myſelf with a lamp, which ſerved me inſtead of candles.

But now a very ſtrange event happened: For being in the height of my ſearch, what ſhould come into my hand, but a bag, which was uſed to hold corn (as I ſuppoſed) for the fowls: So immediately reſolving to put gunpowder in it, I ſhook all the huſks and dirt upon one ſide of the rock, little ſuſpecting what the conſequence would be. The rain had fallen plentifully a few days before; and about a month after, to my great amazement, ſomething began to ſprout out very green and flouriſhing: And when I came to view it more nicely every day, as it grew, I found about 10 or 12 ears of green barley appearing in the very ſame ſhape and make as that in *England*.

I can ſcarce expreſs the agitations of my mind at this ſight. Hitherto I had looked upon the actions of this life no otherwiſe than only as the events of blind chance and fortune: But now, the appearance of this barley, to that ſort of grain,

flouriſhing

flourifhing in a barren foil, and my ignorance in not conceiving how it fhould come there, made me conclude, *that miracles were not yet ceafed:* Nay, I even thought that God had appointed it to grow there without any feed, purely for my fuftenance in this miferable and defolate ifland. And indeed fuch great effect had this upon me, that it often made me melt into tears, through a grateful fenfe of God's mercies; and the greater ftill was my thankfulnefs, when I perceived, about this little field of barley, fome rice ftalks, wonderfully flourifhing in proportion to the crop within.

While I was thus wonderfully pleafed in mind, I concluded there muft be more corn in the ifland; and therefore made a diligent fearch narrowly among the rocks, but could not find any; when, upon a fudden, it came into my mind, how I had fhaken the hufks of corn out of the bag, and then my admiration ceafed, with my gratitude to the Divine Being, *as thinking it was but natural*, and not to be conceived a miracle; though even the manner of its prefervation might have made me own it as a wonderful event of God's kind Providence.

It was about the latter end of *June* when the ears of this corn ripened, which I laid up very carefully, together with 20 or 30 ftalks of rice, expecting one day I fhould reap the fruit of my labour; yet four years were expired before I could allow myfelf to eat any barley bread, and much longer time before I had any rice. After this, with indefatigable pains and induftry for three or four months, at laft I finifhed my cave on the 14th of *April*, having no way to go into it, but by a ladder againft the wall.

April 16. I finifhed my ladder, and afcended it; after pulled it up, then let it down on the other fide, and defcended into my new habitation, where I had fpace enough, and fo fortified that nothing could attack me without fcaling the walls.

But what do all human pains and induftry avail, if the bleffings of God do not crown our labours? Or, who can ftand before the Almighty, when he ftretcheth forth his arm: For one time, as I was at the entrance of my cave, there happened fuch a dreadful earthquake, that not only the roof of the cave came crumbling about my ears, but the pofts feemed to crack terribly at the fame time. This made me, in great amazement, run to my ladder, and get over the wall: When there, I plainly knew it was an earthquake; the place I ftood on fuftaining three terrible fhocks in lefs than three minutes. And when I faw the top of a great rock roll into the fea, then I expected the ifland would be fwallowed up every moment: And dreadful it was to fee the fea thrown into the moft violent agitation and diforder by this tremendous accident.

For my part, I ftood like a criminal, at the place of execution, ready to expire. At the moving of the earth, I was, as

it were, ſea ſick; and very much afraid leſt the rock, under which was my fence and habitation, ſhould overwhelm me and it in a laſting tomb.

When the third dreadful ſhock had ſpent itſelf, my ſpirits began to revive; yet ſtill I would not venture to aſcend the ladder, but continued ſitting, not knowing what I ſhould do. So little grace then I had, only to ſay, *Lord have mercy upon me!* and no ſooner was the earthquake over, but that pathetic prayer left me.

It was not long after when a horrible tempeſt aroſe, at the ſame time attended with a hurricane of wind. The ſea ſeemed mountains high, and the waves rolled ſo impetuouſly, that nothing could be perceived but froth and foam. Three hours did this ſtorm continue, and in ſo violent a manner, as to tear the very trees up by the roots, which was ſucceeded by abundance of rain. When this was over, I went to my tent, but the rain coming again upon me in a furious manner, obliged me to take ſhelter in the cave; and then I was forced to cut a channel through my fortification to let the water out. It continued raining all that night, and ſome time the next day: Yet, no ſooner did the weather clear up, but I reſolved to build me a little hut in ſome open place, walled round, to defend me from wild creatures and ſavages, as not thinking but at the next earthquake the mountain would fall upon my habitation and me, and ſwallow up all in its bowels.

April 19, 20. Theſe days I ſpent in contriving how and in what manner I ſhould fix my place of abode: All this while I was under the moſt dreadful apprehenſions. When I looked round my habitation, every thing I found was in its proper place. I had ſeveral reſolutions whether I ſhould move or not. At length I reſolved to ſtay where I was, till I had found a convenient place where I might pitch my tent.

Apr. 22. When I began to put my reſolutions in practice, I was ſtopt for want of tools and inſtruments to work with. Moſt of my axes and hatchets were uſeleſs, occaſioned by cutting the hard timber that grew on the iſland. It took me up a full week to make my grindſtone of uſe to me, and at laſt I found out a way to turn it about with my foot, by the help of a wheel and a ſtring.

Apr. 28, 29. Theſe days were ſpent in grinding my tools.

Apr. 30. My bread falling ſhort, I allowed myſelf but one biſcuit a day.

May 1. As I walked along the ſea ſhore, I found a barrel of gunpowder, and ſeveral pieces of the wreck, which the ſea had flung up. Having ſecured theſe, I made to the ſhip, whoſe ſtern was torn off, and waſhed a great diſtance aſhore; but the reſt lay in the ſands. This, I ſuppoſed, was occaſioned by the earthquake. Now I reſolved to keep my old place

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of abode ; and alſo to go to the ſhip that day, but found it impoſſible.

May 3. I went on board, and with my ſaw ſawed off one of the beams which kept her quarter deck ; then I cleared the ſand till flood.

May 4. I caught ſome fiſh, but they were not wholeſome. The ſame day I alſo caught a young dolphin.

May 5. This day I alſo repaired to the wreck, and ſawed another piece of timber : and when the flood came, I made a float of three great planks, which was driven aſhore by the tide.

May 6, 7, 8, 9. Theſe days I brought off the iron bolts, opened the deck with the iron crow, and carried two planks to land, having made a way into the very middle of the wreck.

May 10, 11, 12, 13, 14. All this time I ſpent in bringing off great quantities of iron and timber.

May 15. Took with me two hatchets, on purpoſe to cut ſome lead off the roll, but all in vain, for it lay too low under water.

May 26. I omitted going to the wreck this day ; for employing myſelf in looking for pigeons, I outſtayed my time.

May 17. I perceived ſeveral pieces of the wreck blown aſhore, which I found belonged to the head of the ſhip.

May 24. To this day I worked on the wreck, and with great difficulty looſened ſome things ſo much with the crow, that at the firſt flowing tide ſeveral caſks floated out, and many of the ſeamens' cheſts ; yet that day nothing came to land, but pieces of timber, and a hogſhead which had ſome *Braſil* pork in it. I continued working to the 15th of *June* (except neceſſary times for food and reſt) and had I known how to have built a boat, I had timber and planks enough : I had alſo near one hundred weight of ſheet lead.

June 16. As I was wandering towards the ſeaſide, I found a large tortoiſe or turtle, being the firſt I had ſeen on the iſland ; though, as I afterwards found, there were many on the other ſide of it.

June 17. This day I ſpent in cooking it, found in her three ſcore eggs, and her fleſh the moſt favoury and pleaſant I ever taſted in my life.

June 18. I ſtaid within this day, there being a continual rain ; and it was ſomething more chilly and cold than uſual.

June 19. Exceeding bad, taken with a trembling and ſhivering.

June 20. Awake all night, my head rack'd with pain, and ſeveriſh.

June

June 21. Sick unto death, and terrified with the dismal apprehensions of my condition: Prayed to God frequently, but very confusedly.

June 22. Something better, but still uneasy in my mind.

June 23. Again relapsed, much as before.

June 24. Mended a second time.

June 25. A violent ague for seven hours, cold and hot fits succeeded, with faint sweats.

June 27. Better, but very weak; yet I scrambled out, shot a she goat, brought it home, and broiled some of it: I would willingly have stewed it, and made some broth, but had no pot.

June 27. All this day I was afflicted with an ague; thirsty, yet could not help myself to water: Prayed to God in these words: *Lord, in pity look upon me, Lord have mercy upon me, have mercy upon me!* After this I fell asleep, which I found had much refreshed me when I awaked. I fell asleep a second time, and fell into this strange and terrible sort of dream.

Methought I was sitting on the same spot of ground, at the outside of the wall, where I sat when the storm blew after the earthquake; and that I saw a man descending from a great black cloud, and alight upon the ground. He was all over as bright as a flash of fire, that a little before surrounded him; his countenance inconceivably terrible; the earth, as as it were, trembled when he stept upon the ground, and flashes of fire seemed to fill all the air. No sooner I thought him landed upon the earth, but with a long spear or other weapon he made towards me; but first ascending a rising ground, his voice added to my amazement, when I thought I heard him pronounce these dreadful words, *Unhappy wretch! seeing all these things have not brought thee to repentance, thou shalt immediately die.* In pronouncing this dreadful sentence, I thought he went to kill me with the spear that was in his hand.

Any body may think it impossible for me to express the horrors of my mind at this vision; and even when I awaked, this very dream made a deep impression upon my mind. The little divine knowledge I had, I received from my father's instructions, and that was worn out by an uninterrupted series of seafaring impiety, for eight years space, except what sickness forced from me; I don't remember I had one thought of lifting up my heart towards God; but rather had a certain stupidity of soul, not having the least sense of fear of the omnipotent Being when in distress, nor of gratitude to him for his deliverances. Nay, when I was on the desperate expedition on the desart *African* shore, I can't remember I had one thought of what would become of me, and beg his consolation

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and affiſtance in my ſufferings and diſtreſs. When the *Portugueſe* captain took me up, and honourably uſed me; nay, farther, when I was even delivered from drowning, by eſcaping to this iſland, I never looked upon it as a judgment, but only ſaid I was an unfortunate dog, and that's all. Indeed ſome ſecret tranſports of ſoul I had, which was not through grace, but only a common flight of joy, that I was yet alive, when my companions were all drowned: and no other joy could I conceive but what is common with the ſailors over a bowl of punch, after they have eſcaped the greateſt dangers.

The likelihood of wanting for neither food nor conveniences might have called upon me for a thankful acknowledgment to Providence. Indeed the growth of my corn touched me with ſome ſenſe, but that ſoon wore off again; The terrible earthquake pointed to me as it were the finger of God, but my dreadful amazement continued no longer than its duration. But now, when my ſpirits began to ſink under the burden of a ſtrong diſtemper, and I could leiſurely view the miſeries of death preſent itſelf before my eyes; then my awakened conſcience began to reproach me with my paſt life, in which I had ſo wickedly provoked the juſtice of God to pour down his vengeance upon me.

Such reflexions as theſe oppreſſed me even in the violence of my diſtemper. Some prayers I uttered, which only proceeded from my fear of death. But when I conſidered my father's advice and prophecy, I could not forbear weeping: For he told me, *That if I did perſiſt in my folly I ſhould not only be deprived of God's bleſſing, but have time enough to reflect upon my deſpiſing his inſtructions; and this in a wretched time, when none could help me.* And now concluding it to be fulfilled, having no ſoul in the iſland to adminiſter any comfort to me, I prayed, however, earneſtly, to the Lord, that he would help me in this my great calamity: And this, I think, was the firſt time I prayed in ſincerity for many years. But now I muſt return to my Journal.

June 28. Something refreſhed with ſleep, and the fit quite off, I got up. My dream ſtill occaſioned in me a great conſternation; and fearing that the ague might return the ſucceeding day, I concluded it a time to get ſomething to comfort me. I filled a caſe bottle with water, and ſet it within the reach of my bed; and to make it more nouriſhing, and leſs chilly, I put ſome rum into it. The next I did was to broil me a piece of goat's fleſh, of which I ate but little. I was very weak, however walked about, dreading the return of my diſtemper; and at night I ſupped on three of the turtle's eggs which I roaſted and ate, begging God's bleſſing therewith.

After I had eaten, I attempted to walk again out of doors with my gun; but so weak, that I sat down and looked at the sea, which was smooth and calm: While I continued here, these thought came into my mind.

In what manner is the production of the earth and sea, which I have seen so much of? From whence came myself, and all other creatures living, and of what are we made?

Our beings were assuredly created by some Almighty invisible Power, who framed the earth, the sea, and air, and all therein. But what is that Power?

Certainly, it must follow, that God has created it all. Yet, said I, if God has made all this, he must be the ruler of them all, and what is relating thereto; for certainly the power that makes, must indisputably have a power to guide and direct them. And if this be so (as certainly it must) nothing can happen without his knowledge or appointment. Then surely, if nothing happens without God's appointment, certainly God has appointed these my sufferings to befal me. And here I fixed my firm belief, that it was his will that it should be so; and then proceeded to enquire, why should God deal with me in this manner? Or what had I done thus to deserve his indignation?

Here conscience flew in my face, reprehending me as a blasphemer; crying with a loud and piercing voice, *Unworthy wretch! dare you ask what you have done? Look upon your past life, and see what you have left undone.* Ask thyself, why thou wert not long ago in the mercilefs hands of death? Why not drowned in *Yarmouth* roads, or killed in the fight when the ship was taken by the *Sallee* man of war? Why not entombed in the bowels of wild beasts on the *African* coast, or drowned here, when all thy companions suffered shipwreck.

Struck dumb with these reflections, I rose up in a pensive manner, being so thoughtful that I could not go to sleep: And fearing the dreadful return of my distemper, it caused me to remember that the *Brasilians* use tobacco for almost all diseases. I then went to my chest, in order to find some, where heaven no doubt directed me to a cure for both soul and body; for there I found one of the bibles which till this time I had neither leisure nor inclination to look into: I took both the tobacco and that out of the chest, and laid them on the table. Several experiments did I try with the tobacco: First I took a leaf, and chewed it; but it being very green and strong, almost stupified me. Next I steeped it in some rum an hour or two, resolving when I went to bed to take a dose of it; and in the third place, I burnt some over a pan of fire, holding my nose over it so long as I could endure the least heat without suffocation

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In the intervals of this operation, though my head was giddy and disturbed with the tobacco, I took up the bible to read: No sooner did I open it, but there appeared to me these words, *Call on me in the day of trouble, and I will deliver, and thou shalt glorify me.*

At first this sentence made a very deep impression on my heart; but soon wore off again, when I considered the word *deliver* was foreign to me. And as the children of *Israel* said, when they were promised flesh to eat, *Can God spread a table in the wilderness?* In like manner I began to say, Can God himself deliver me from this desolate island? However, the words would still return to my mind, and after made a great impression upon me. As it now was very late, and the tobacco had dozed my head, I was inclined to sleep; but before I would lie down, I fell on my knees, and implored the promise that God had made to me in the Holy Scriptures, that *if I called upon him in the day of trouble, he would deliver me.* With much difficulty I after drank the rum, wherein I had steeped the tobacco; which flying in my head very violently, threw me into such a profound sleep, that it was three o'clock the next day before I awaked; or rather, I believe, I slept two days, having certainly lost a day in my own account, and I could never tell any other way. When I got up, my spirits were lively and cheerful; my stomach much better, being very hungry; and, in short, no fit returned the next day, which was the 29th, but much altered for the better.

The 30th, I went abroad with my gun, but not far, and killed a sea fowl or two, resembling a brand goose, which yet I cared not to eat when I brought them home, but dined on two more of the turtle's eggs. In the evening I renewed my medicine, except not taking that quantity, neither did I chew of the leaf, or hold my head over the smoke, yet the next day I had a little spice of the cold fit, which was on the 1st of *July*.

July 2. I took my medicines as I did the first time.

July 3. The fit quite left me, but very weak. In this condition I often thought of these words, *I will deliver thee*; and while at some times I would think of the impossibility of it, other thoughts would reprehend me, for disregarding the deliverances I had received, even in the most forlorn and distressed condition. What regard had I to God's abundant mercies? Had I done my part? *He had delivered me, but I had not glorified him*; as much as to say, I had not own'd and been thankful for that as a deliverance, and how could I expect a greater? So much did this sensibly touch my heart, that I gave God thanks for my recovery from sickness in the most humble prostration.

July

July 4. This morning I began ſeriouſly to ponder on what is written in the *New-Teſtament*, reſolving to read a chapter every morning and night, as long as my thoughts would engage me: But when ſoon after I ſet about this work ſeriouſly, I found my heart deeply affected with the impiety of my paſt life: Theſe words that I thought were ſpoken to me in my dream revived, *All theſe things have not brought thee to repentance.* After this, I begged of God to aſſiſt me with his holy ſpirit in returning to my duty, when peruſing the ſcriptures one day, I came to theſe words, *He has exalted a Prince and a Saviour, to give repentance and to give remiſſion:* Immediately I laid down the book, and with uplifted hands to heaven, loudly cried, *O bleſſed Jeſus, than Son of* David, *Jeſus, thou exalted Prince and Saviour, give me repentance!* And now indeed I prayed with a true ſenſe of my condition, and a more certain hope founded on the word of God: Now I had a different ſenſe of theſe words, *Call on me and I will deliver you*; that is, from the dreadful load of guilt, which oppprefled my ſinful ſoul; and not from a ſolitary life, which might rather be called a bleſſing (ſeeing I wanted neither food nor raiment) than living among the race of human kind, ſurrounded with ſo much oppreſſion, miſery and affliction: And, in a word, I came to this concluſion: That a deliverance from ſin, was a much greater bleſſing than a deliverance from affliction. But again I proceed to my journal.

To the 24th of *July* I walked about with my gun, a little and a little at a time, having been reduced to the greateſt extremity of weakneſs. The application and experiment I uſed were perfectly new; neither could I recommend it to any one's practice. For though it carried off the fit, it very much weakened me; and I had frequently convulſions in my nerves and limbs for ſome time. From hence I learned, that going abroad in rainy weather, eſpecially when it was attended with ſtorms and hurricanes of wind, was moſt pernicious to health. In this iſland I had been about ten months, never all the while having ſeen any human kind, and ſo accounted myſelf as ſole monarch; and, as I grew better, having ſecured my habitation to my mind, I reſolved to make a tour round my kingdom, in order to make new diſcoveries.

The 15th of *July* I began my journey. I firſt went to the creek, where I had brought my rafts on ſhore; and travelling farther, found the tide going no higher than two miles up, where there was a little brook of running water, on the banks of which were many pleaſant ſavannas or meadows, plain, ſmooth, and covered with graſs: On the riſing parts, where I ſuppoſed the water did not reach, I perceived a great deal of tobacco growing to a very ſtrong ſtalk: Several other plants I likewiſe found, the virtues of which I did not underſtand. But

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a long time I ſearched for the caſſava root, which I knew the *Indians* in that climate made their bread of, but all in vain. There were ſeveral plants of aloes, though at that time I knew not what they were: Likewiſe I ſaw ſeveral ſugar canes, but imperfect for want of cultivation. With theſe few diſcoveries I came back that night, and ſlept contentedly in my little caſtle.

The next day, being the 16th, going the ſame way, and farther than the day before, I found the country more adorned with woods and trees. Here I perceived different fruits, which lay in very great abundance. The melons in plenty lay on the ground; and cluſters of grapes, ripe and very rich, ſpread over the trees. You may imagine I was glad of this diſcovery, yet ate very ſparingly, leſt I ſhould throw myſelf into a flux or fever. As for the grapes, I found them of excellent uſe; for when I had dried them in the ſun, which preſerved them as dried raiſins are kept, they proved very wholeſome and nouriſhing, and ſerved me in theſe ſeaſons when no grapes were to be had.

The night drawing on apace, I aſcended up a tree, and ſlept very comfortably, though it was the firſt time I had lain out of my habitation. And when the morning came, I proceeded with great pleaſure on my way travelling about four miles, as I imagined by the length of the valley, directing my courſe northward, there being a ridge of hills on ſouth and north ſide of me. At the end of this valley I came to an opening, where the country ſeemed to deſcend to the weſt: There I found a little ſpring of freſh water proceeding out of the ſide of a hill, with its chryſtal ſtreams running directly eaſt. And indeed here my ſenſes were charmed with the moſt lovely object nature could afford; for the country appeared ſo flouriſhing, green and delightful, that to me it ſeemed like a planted garden. I then deſcended on the ſide of that delicious vale, where I found abundance of cocoa, orange, lemon and citron trees, but very wild and barren at that time: The juice of which I afterwards uſed to mix in water, which made it very cool and refreſhing. And now, I was reſolved to carry home and lay up a ſtore of grapes, limes, and lemons, againſt the approaching wet ſeaſon: So laying up in ſeparate parcels, and then taking a few of each with me, I returned to my little caſtle, after having ſpent three days in this journey: But before I got home, the grapes were ſo bruiſed that they were utterly ſpoiled, the limes indeed were good, but few could I bring away.

July 19. Having prepared two bags, I returned thither again; but to my great ſurprize found all the grapes ſpread about, trod to pieces, and abundance eaten, which made me to conclude there were wild creatures thereabouts. To

remedy this, I gathered a large quantity of the grapes, and hung them upon the out branches of the trees, that they might cure and dry in the ſun; and having well loaded myſelf with limes and lemons, I returned once more to my old place of reſidence.

And now it was, that contemplating on the fruitfulneſs of the valley, the pleaſantneſs of the ſituation, the ſecurity from ſtorms on that ſide the water, and the delightfulneſs of an adjacent wood; I concluded I was ſettled in the worſt part of the country, therefore was thinking to remove my habitation. But when I conſidered again, that though it was pleaſant it was not by the ſea ſide, where there was a poſſibility, ſome time or other, a ſhip might either be driven to, or fail by that coaſt: and that to encloſe myſelf among hills and woods muſt certainly fruſtrate all hopes of a deliverance; I reſolved to let my caſtle remain where Providence had firſt aſſigned it. Yet, ſo raviſhed was I with this place, that I made me a little kind of bower, ſurrounding it at a diſtance with a double hedge, as high as I could reach, well ſtaked and filled with bulruſhes, and having ſpent a great part of the month of *July*, I think it was the firſt of *Auguſt* before I began to enjoy my labour.

Aug. 3. Perceiving my grapes to be dry, I took them from the trees, and they proved excellent good raiſins of the ſun; the moſt of which I carrried to my cave; and happy for me I did ſo, by which I ſaved the beſt part of my winter food.

Aug. 14. It began to rain this day; and though I had made me a tent like the other, yet having no ſhelter of a hill to keep me from ſtorms, nor a cave behind me to retreat to, I was obliged to retreat to my old caſtle. Still the rain continued more or leſs every day till the middle of *October*; and ſometimes ſo violently, that I could not ſtir out of my cave for ſeveral days. This ſeaſon I found my family to increaſe; for one of my cats that ran away from me, and whom I thought had been dead, returned about *Auguſt*, with three kittens at her heels, like herſelf, which I thought ſtrange, becauſe both my cats were females, and the wild cats of the iſland ſeemed to be of a different kind from our *European* cats; but from theſe cats proceeded ſuch numbers, that I was forced to kill and deſtroy them as I would do wild beaſts or vermin.

To the 26th of this month I could not ſtir out, it raining inceſſantly; when beginning to want food, I was compelled to venture twice, the firſt of which I ſhot a goat, and after found a very large tortoiſe. The manner of regulating my food was thus: A bunch of raiſins ſerved me for breakfaſt; a piece of goat's fleſh or turtle broiled for my dinner; and two or three turtle's eggs for my ſupper. While the rain laſted, I daily worked two or three hours at enlarging my cave,

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and by degrees worked it on towards one ſide till I came to the out ſide of the hill, and made a door or way out, which came bevond my fence or wall, and ſo I came in and out this way. But after I had done this, I was troubled to ſee myſelf thus expoſed, though I could not perceive any thing to fear, a goat being the biggeſt creature I had ſeen upon this iſland.

Sept. 30. Caſting up my notches on my poſt, which amounting to 365, I concluded this to be the anniverſary of my landing; and therefore humbly proſtrating myſelf on the ground, confeſſing my ſins, acknowledging God's righteous judgments upon me, and praying to *Jeſus Chriſt* to have mercy on me, I faſted for twelve hours, till the going down of the ſun; and then eating a biſcuit and a bunch of grapes, laid me on the bed, and with great comfort took my night's repoſe. Till this time having no ſenſe of religion, I never diſtinguiſhed the *Sabbath-day*; but now I made a longer notch than ordinary for the *days of reſt*, and divided the weeks as well as I could, though I found I had loſt a day or two in my account. Soon after, my ink failing, I omitted a daily memorandum of indifferent things, and contented myſelf to write down only the moſt remarkable events of my life. The rainy and dry ſeaſons appeared now regular to me, and experience taught me how to provide for them; yet, in one thing I am going to relate, my experience very much failed me. You may call to mind what I have mentioned of ſome barley and rice which I had ſaved; about thirty ſtalks of the former, and twenty of the latter; and at that time the ſun being in its ſouthern poſition going from me, together with the rains, made me conclude it a very proper ſeaſon to ſow it. Accordingly, I dug up a piece of ground with my wooden ſpade, and dividing it in two parts, ſowed about two thirds of my ſeed, preſerving by me about a handful of each. And happy it was I did ſo, for no rain falling, it was choaked up, and never appeared above the earth till the wet ſeaſon came again, and then it grew as if it had been newly ſown.

I was reſolved ſtill to make another trial; and ſeeking for a moiſter piece of ground near my bower, there I ſowed the reſt of my ſeed in *February*, a little before the vernal equinox, which having the rainy months of *March* and *April* to water it, yielded a noble crop, and ſprung up very pleaſantly. Part of the ſeed I had yet ſaved, not daring to venture all; and my crop amounted to above half a peck of each ſort. But by this time I found the proper ſeaſons to ſow in; and that two ſeed times and two harveſts I might expect every year.

No ſooner were the rains over, and the ſtakes, which I had cut from the trees, ſhooting like willow trees the firſt year after

ter lopping their heads, than I was ignorant of the tree I cut them from; but they grew so regularly beautiful, that they made a most lovely appearance, and flourished so in three years time, that I resolved to cut some more, and these soon growing, made a glorious fence, as in order I shall observe.

And now I perceived that the seasons of the year might generally be divided, not into summer and winter, as in *Europe*, but into wet and dry seasons, as in this manner:

Half *February*, *March*, Half *April*,	*Rainy, sun coming near the equinox.*
Half *April*, *May*, *June*, *July*, Half *August*,	*Dry, sun getting north of the line.*
Half *August*, *September*, Half *October*,	*Wet, the sun being then come back.*
Half *October*, *November*, *December*, *January*, Half *February*.	*Dry, sun running south of the line.*

As the winds happened to blow, so the wet seasons would continue longer or shorter: But when I found the ill consequences of being abroad in the rain, I took care beforehand to furnish myself with provisions, and during the wet months sat within doors as much as possible: And in this time I contrived to make many things that I wanted, though it was with much labour and pains before I could accomplish them. The first I tried was to make a basket; but all the twigs I could get proved so brittle, that I could not then perform it. But now it proved of excellent advantage to me, that when a boy, I took great delight in standing at a basket maker's in the same town where my father lived, to view them at work, and like other boys curious to see the manner of their working these things, and very officious to assist, I perfectly learned the method of it, and wanted nothing but the tools. And then it came into my mind, that the twigs of that tree of which I made my stakes might be as tough as fallow, willow, and osiers, growing in *England*; and so resolving to make an experiment, I went the next day to my country seat, and found some fit for my turn; and cutting down numbers with my hatchet, I dried them in my pale, and when fit to work with,

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carried them to my cave, where I employed myſelf in making ſeveral ſorts of baſkets to put in whatſoever I pleaſed: It is true they were not cleverly made, yet they ſerved my turn upon all occaſions.

But ſtill I wanted two neceſſary things; I had not any caſk to hold my liquor, except two runlets almoſt full of rum, a few bottles of an ordinary ſize, and ſome ſquare caſe bottles: Neither had I a pot to boil any thing in, only a large kettle, unfit to make broth, or ſtew a bit of meat in. After this, I wanted a tobacco pipe; for which laſt I found an expedient.

I kept myſelf employed in planting my ſecond row of ſtakes, and worked in this wicker the dry ſeaſon. You may remember before, that when I traveiled up to the brook, I had a mind to ſee the whole iſland; accordingly, taking my dog, gun, hatchet, two biſcuit cakes, a great bunch of raiſins, with a larger quantity of powder and ſhot than uſual, I began my journey. And having paſſed the vale where my bower ſtood, I came within view of the ſea, lying to the weſt, when it being a clear day, I fairly deſcried land, but could not ſay whether it was an iſland or a continent: It extended from the W. to the W. S. W. about ten or fifteen leagues, as I concluded. Neither could I tell what place this might be, only thought it was part of *America*, and where I might have been in a miſerable condition had I landed. Again, I conſidered, that if this was the *Spaniſh* coaſt, certainly one time or other I ſhould ſee ſome ſhip paſs by; and if it was not, then it muſt be the ſavage coaſt, between the *Spaniſh* country and *Braſil*, which abounds with cannibals or man eaters, that devour human kind.

As I proceeded forward, I found this ſide of the iſland much more pleaſant than mine, the fields fragrant, and adorned with ſweet flowers and verdant graſs, together with ſeveral very fine woods. There were parrots in plenty, which made me long for one to be my companion; but it was with great difficulty that I could knock it down with my ſtick; and it was ſome years I kept him at home, before I could get him to call me by my name.

In the low grounds I found various ſorts of hares and foxes, as I thought them, but much different from all I had met with: Several of theſe I killed, but never ate them; neither indeed had I any occaſion; for abounding with goats, pigeons, turtle, and grapes, I could defy *Leadenhall* market to furniſh me a better table. In this journey I did not travel above two miles in a day, becauſe I took ſeveral turns and windings, to ſee what diſcoveries I could make; returning weary enough to the place where I deſigned to reſt all night, which was either in a tree, or in a place which I ſurrounded with ſtakes, that no wild creature might ſuddenly ſurpriſe me. When

I came to the ſea ſhore, I was amazed to ſee the ſplendour of it: Its ſtrand was covered with ſhells of the moſt beautiful fiſh, and conſtantly abounding with innumerable turtles, and fowls of many kinds, which I was ignorant of, except thoſe called *Penguins*. I might have ſhot as many as I pleaſed, but was ſparing of my ammunition, rather chuſing to kill a ſhe-goat, which with much difficulty I did, becauſe of the flatneſs of the country.

Now though this journey produced the moſt pleaſing ſatisfaction, yet my habitation was ſo natural to me, that I did not repine at my being ſeated on the worſt part of the iſland: And ſo travelling about 12 miles towards the *Eaſt*, I ſet a great pile on the ſhore for a mark, concluding that my next journey ſhould be on the other ſide of the iſland, eaſt from my caſtle, and ſo round till I came to my poſt again. However I took another way back, thinking I could not miſs by having a conſtant view of the country; but ſcarcely had I travelled three miles, when I deſcended into a very large valley, ſurrounded with hills that were covered with wood, that I had no guide but by the ſun, nor even then, unleſs I knew well the poſition of the ſun at that time of day. What added to my misfortune was, the weather proved ſo hazy, for three or four days, as to oblige me to return to my poſt by the ſea ſide, and ſo backward the ſame way I came. My dog ſurprized a kid in this journey, and would have killed it, had I not prevented him. I had often been muſing, whether I could not get a kid or two, and ſo raiſe a breed of tame goats to ſupply me after my ammunition was ſpent. Upon which, I made a collar for this little creature, with a ſtring made of rope yarn, which I always carried about with me; and when I came to my bower, there I incloſed and left him, and after a month's time in this journey I came home to my old habitation.

Nobody can ſuppoſe otherwiſe, but that I had a pleaſing ſatisfaction, when I returned to my little caſtle, and repoſed myſelf in my hammock. After this journey I reſted myſelf a week, and the principal concern I then had, was, to make a cage for my pretty Poll. And then I began to conſider the poor kid I had left at my bower; and immediately I went to fetch it home. When I came there, I found the young creature almoſt ſtarved; when feeding it with branches of ſuch ſhrubs as I could find, I tied it as before; but there was no occaſion, for it followed me like a dog; and as I conſtantly fed it, became ſo loving, gentle and fond, that it commenced one of my domeſtics, and would never leave me.

The rainy ſeaſon of the autumnal equinox being now come, I kept the 30th of *September* in the moſt ſolemn manner, as uſual, it being the third year of my abode in the iſland. I ſpent the whole day in acknowledging God's mercies; in giving

giving him thanks for making this ſolitary life as agreeable, and leſs ſinful, than that of human ſociety; and for the communications of his grace to my ſoul, ſupporting, comforting, and encouraging me to depend upon his providence, and hope for his eternal preſence in the world to come.

Before I conſidered how happy I was in this ſtate of life, compared with that accurſed manner of living I formerly uſed, while either I was hunting or viewing the country, the anguiſh of my ſoul would break out upon me on a ſudden, and my very heart would ſink within me, to think of the woods, the mountains, the deſarts I was in; and how I was a priſoner, locked up with the eternal bars and bolts of the ocean, in an uninhabited wilderneſs, without hopes and without redemption. And in this condition, I would often wring my hands and weep like a child: Even in the middle of my work, this fit would take me; and then I would immediately ſit down and ſigh, looking on the ground for an hour or two together, till ſuch time as my grief would be vented, by burſting out into melting tears.

As one morning I was ſuddenly pondering in my mind, I opened my Bible, when immediately I fixed my eyes upon theſe words, *I will never leave thee nor forſake thee!* Surely, thought I, theſe words are directed to me; or elſe, why ſhould they appear juſt at a moment when I am bemoaning my forlorn condition? And if God does not forſake me, what matters it, ſince he can make me more happy in this ſtate of life than if I enjoyed the greateſt ſplendour in the world? But while I was going to return God thanks for my preſent ſtate, ſomething ſeemed to ſhock my mind, as if it had thus ſaid, Unworthy wretch! can you pretend to be thankful for a condition, from which you would pray to be delivered? Here I ſtopt. And though I could not ſay, I thanked the Divine Majeſty for being there, yet I gave God thanks for placing to my view my former wicked courſe of life, and granting me a true knowledge of repentance: And whenever I opened or ſhut the Bible, I bleſt kind Providence that directed my goods without my order, and for aſſiſting me to ſave them from the power of the raging ocean.

And now beginning my third year, my ſeveral daily employments were theſe: *Firſt*, My duty to heaven, and diligently reading the Holy Scriptures, which I did twice or thrice every day. *Secondly*, Seeking proviſion with my gun, which commonly took me up, when it did not rain, three hours every morning. *Thirdly*, The ordering, curing, preſerving, and cooking what I had killed or catched for my ſupply, which took me up a great part of the day: And in the middle of the day, the ſun being in it heighth, it was ſo hot that I could not ſtir out; ſo that I had but four hours to work in: And then

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my want of tools, help, and ſkill, waſted a great deal of time; for I was two and forty days making a board fit for a long ſhelf; whereas, two ſawyers, with their tools and ſaw pit, would have cut ſeveral out of the ſame tree in half a day; but this was the caſe, it was to be a large tree, becauſe my board was to be broad; I was three days in cutting it down, and two more in lopping off the boughs, and reducing it to a piece of timber; this I hack'd and hew'd off each ſide till it became light to move, then I turned it, made one ſide of it ſmooth and flat as a board, from end to end, then turned it downward, cutting the other ſide, till I brought the plank to be about three inches thick, and ſmooth on both ſides. Any body may judge my great labour and fatigue in ſuch a piece of work; but this I went through with patience, as alſo many other things that my circumſtances made neceſſary for me to do.

But now came my harveſt months, *November* and *December*, in which I had the pleaſing proſpect of a very good crop: But ſuch was my misfortune, that the goats and hares having once taſted of the ſweetneſs of the blade, kept it ſo ſhort, that it had not ſtrength to ſhoot up into a ſtalk: To prevent which, I enclofed it with a hedge, and by day, ſhot ſome of its devourers; and my dog, which I had tied to the field gate, keeping barking all night, frightened the creatures away.

No ſooner did I get rid of theſe, but other enemies appeared; whole flocks of ſeveral ſorts of birds, who only waited till my back was turned to ruin me. So much did this provoke me, that I let fly, and killed three of the malefactors; and afterwards, ſerving them as they do notorious thieves in *England*, hung them up in chains as a terror to others. And indeed ſo good an effect had this, that they not only forſook the corn, but all that part of the iſland, ſo long as theſe criminals hung there.

My corn having ripened apace, the latter end of *December*, which was my ſecond harveſt of the year, I reaped it with a ſcythe made of one of my broad ſwords. I had no great fatigue in cutting down my firſt crop, it was ſo ſlender; the ears of which I carried home in a baſket, rubbing it out with my hands inſtead of thraſhing it; and when my harveſt was over, I found my half peck of ſeed had produced near two buſhels of rice, and two buſhels and a half of barley. And now I plainly foreſaw that, by God's goodneſs, I ſhould be furniſhed with bread; but yet I was concerned, becauſe I knew not how to grind or make meal of my corn; nor bread, neither knew how to bake it. Upon theſe conſiderations, I would not taſte any of the crop, but preſerve it againſt the next ſeaſon, and in the mean while uſe my beſt endeavours to provide myſelf with materials to make bread.

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But where were my labours to end? The want of a plough to turn up the earth, or ſhovel to dig it, I conquered, by making me a wooden ſpade after a wooden manner: The want of a harrow, I ſupplied myſelf, by dragging over the corn a great bough of a tree: When it was growing or fully ripe, I was forced to fence it, mow it, carry it home, thraſh it, part it from the chaff, and ſave it: And after all this, I wanted a mill to grind it, ſieves to dreſs it, yeaſt and ſalt to make it into bread, and an oven to bake it. This ſet my brains on work to find ſome expedient for every one of theſe neceſſaries againſt the next harveſt.

And now, having more ſeed, my firſt care was to prepare me more land. I pitched upon two large flat pieces of ground near my caſtle, for that purpoſe, in which I ſowed my ſeed, and fenced it with a good hedge, which took me up three months, by which time it was the wet ſeaſon. While the rain kept me within doors, I found ſeveral occaſions to employ myſelf; and while at work uſed to divert myſelf with talking to my parrot, learning him to know and ſpeak his own name, POLL, the firſt welcome word I ever heard ſpoke on the iſland. I had been a long time contriving how to make earthen veſſels, which I wanted extremely; and when I conſidered the heat of the climate, I did not doubt but, if I could find any proper clay, I might botch up a pot, ſtrong enough, when dried in the ſun, to bear handling, and to hold any thing that was dry; as corn, meal, and other things.

To be ſhort, the clay I found; but it would occaſion the moſt ſerious perſon to ſmile to ſee what aukward ways I took, and what ugly miſhapen things I made; how many either fell out or crack'd by the violent heat of ſun, and fell in pieces when they were removed: So that I think it was two months time before I could perfect any thing; and after this great fatigue, made two clumſy things in imitation of earthen jars. Theſe, however, I very gently placed in wicker baſkets, made on purpoſe for them, and between the pot and the baſkets, ſtuffed it full of rice and barley ſtraw; and theſe I preſumed would hold my dried corn, and perhaps the meal when the corn was bruiſed. But as for ſmaller things, I made them with better ſucceſs, which the ſun baked very hard, ſuch as little round pots, flat diſhes, pitchers, and pipkins.

Yet ſtill I wanted one thing abſolutely neceſſary, and that was an earthen pot, not only to hold any liquid thing, but to bear the fire, which none of theſe could do. It once happened, that as I was putting out my fire, I found therein a broken piece of one of my veſſels, burnt hard as a rock, and red as a tile. This made me contrive how to order my fire, ſo as to make it burn ſome pots; and having no notion of a kiln, or of glazing them with lead, I fixed three large pipkins, and two

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or three pots, in a pile one upon another. The fire I plied round the outside and on the top with dry wood, till I saw the pots in the inside red hot, and found that they did not crack at all; and when I perceived them perfectly red, I let one of them stand in the fire about five or six hours, till the clay melted by the extremity of the heat, and would have run to glass, had I suffered it; upon which, I slacked my fire by degrees, till the redness abated; and watching them till the morning, I found I had three very good pipkins, and two earthen pots, as well burnt and fit for my turn as I could desire.

No joy can be greater than mine at this discovery: For after this, I may say, I wanted for no sort of earthen ware. I filled one of my pipkins with water to boil me some meat, which it did admirably well, and with a piece of kid I made me some good broth, as well as my circumstances would afford me at that time.

The next concern I had, was, to make me a stone mortar to beat some corn in, instead of a mill to grind it. Here indeed I was at a great loss, as not being fit for a stone cutter; and many days I spent to find out a great stone big enough to cut hollow and make fit for a mortar, and strong enough to bear the weight of a pestle, as would break the corn without filling it with sand: But all the stones of the island being of a mouldering nature, rendered my search fruitless; and then I resolved to look out a great block of hard wood; which having soon found, I formed with my axe and hammer, and then with infinite labour made a hollow place in it, just as the *Indians* of *Brasil* make their *cances*. When I had finished this, I made a great pestle of iron wood, which I had formerly laid up against my succeeding harvest.

My next business was to make me a sieve, to sift my meal, and part it from the bran and the husk. Having no fine thin canvas to search the meal through, I could not tell what to do; what linen I had was reduced to rags: I had goats' hair enough, but neither tools to work it, nor did I know how to spin it: At length, I remembered I had some neckcloths of callico, or muslin, of the sailors, which I had brought out of the ship, and with these I made three small sieves, proper enough for the work.

And now I come to consider the baking part in course. The want of an oven I supplied by making some earthen pans very broad but not deep. When I had a mind to bake, I made a great fire upon my hearth, the tiles of which I had made myself, and when the wood was burnt into live coals, I spread them all over it, till it became very hot; then sweeping them away, I set down my loaves, and whelming down the earthen pots upon them, drew the ashes and coals all around

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the outſide of the pots to continue the heat: And in this manner I uſed to bake my barley loaves, as well as if I had been a complete paſtry cook, making myſelf of the rice ſeveral cakes and puddings.

It is no wonder that all theſe things took me up the beſt part of a year, ſince what intermediate time I had, was bestowed in managing my new harveſt and huſbandry; for in the proper ſeaſon I reaped my corn, carried it home, and laid it up in the ear in my large baſkets, till I had time to rub, inſtead of thraſhing it. And now indeed my corn increaſed ſo much, that it produced me about twenty buſhels of barley, and as much of rice, that I not only began to uſe it freely, but was thinking how to enlarge my barns, and was reſolved to ſow ſo much at a time as would be ſufficient for me a whole year.

All this while the proſpect of land, which I had ſeen from the other ſide of the iſland, ran in my mind. I ſtill meditated a deliverance from this place, though the fear of greater miſfortunes might have deterred me from it: For after I had attained that place, I run the hazard of being killed and eaten by the devouring cannibals; and if they were not ſo, yet I might be ſlain, as other *Europeans* had been, who fell into their hands. Notwithſtanding all this, my thoughts ran continually upon my acquiring that ſhore: And now I wanted my boy *Xury*, and the long boat, with the ſhoulder of mutton ſail. Then I went the ſhip's boat that had been caſt a great way on the ſhore in the late ſtorm. She was but a little removed; but her bottom was turned up by the impetuoſity and fury of the waves and wind. With all the ſtrength I had, I tried whatever I could do, with levers and rollers I had cut from the wood, to turn her, and repair the damages ſhe had ſuſtained. This work took me up three or four weeks, when finding my little ſtrength all in vain, I fell to undermining it, by digging away the ſand, and ſo make it fall down, ſetting pieces of wood to thruſt and guide it in the fall. But after this was done, unable was I to ſtir it up again, or to get under it, much leſs to move it forward towards the water, and ſo I was forced to give it over.

Not contented with this diſappointment, I began to think whether it were not poſſible for me to make a canoe or periagua, ſuch as the *Indians* make of the trunk of a tree; but here I lay under particular inconveniences; want of tools to make it, and want of hands to move it to the water when it was made. However, to work I went upon it, ſtopping all the enquiries I could make, with this very ſimple anſwer I made to myſelf, let's firſt make it, I'll warrant I'll find ſome way or other to get it along when it is done.

I firſt cut down a cedar tree, which was five feet ten inches diameter at the lower part next the ſtump, and four feet eleven inches

inches diameter at the end of twenty two feet, after which it leſſened for a ſpace, and then parted into branches. Twenty days was I hacking and hewing this tree at the bottom, fourteen more in cutting off the branches and limbs, and a whole month in ſhaping it like the bottom of a boat; as for the inſide, I was three weeks with a mallet and chiſſel, clearing it in ſuch a manner as that it was big enough to carry twenty ſix men, much bigger than any canoe I ſaw in my life, and conſequently ſufficient to tranſport me and all my effects to that wiſhed for ſhore I ſo ardently deſired.

Nothing remained now, but indeed the greateſt difficulty, to get it into the water, it lying about 100 yards from it. To remedy the firſt inconvenience, which was a riſing hill between this boat and the creek, with wonderful pains and labour I dug into the ſurface of the earth, and made a declivity. But when this was done, all the ſtrength I had was as inſufficient to move it, as it was when I attempted to move the boat. Then I proceeded to meaſure the diſtance of ground, reſolving to make a canal, in order to bring the water to the canoe, ſince I could not bring the canoe to the water. But as this ſeemed to be impracticable to myſelf alone, under the ſpace of eleven or twelve years, it brought me into ſome ſort of conſideration, that I concluded it impoſſible to be done, and ſo this attempt was in vain alſo. And now I ſaw, and not before, what ſtupidity it is to begin a work before we reckon its coſts, or judge right of our own abilities to go through with its performance.

It was in the heighth of this work, my fourth year expired, ſince I was caſt on this iſland; and then I did not forget my anniverſary, but kept it with the ſame ardent devotion I had done before. But now my hopes being fruſtrated, I looked upon this world as a thing I had nothing to do with; and very well might I ſay, as father *Abraham* unto *Dives*, *Between me and thee there is a gulf fixed.* And indeed from the world I was ſeparated, from its wickedneſs too, having neither the luſt of the fleſh, the luſt of the eye, or the pride of life: I had nothing to covet; being lord, king, or emperor over the whole country I had in poſſeſſion, without diſpute, and without control. I had loadings of corn, plenty of turtles, timber in abundance, and grapes above meaſure; but after I was ſerved, what was all the reſt to me? The money I had by me lay as deſpicable droſs, which I would freely have given for a groſs of tobacco pipes, or a hand mill to grind my corn: In a word, the nature and experience of theſe things dictated to me this juſt reflection, that the good things of this world are no farther good to us than they are for our uſe; and that whatever we may heap up to give others, we can but enjoy as much as we uſe, and no more.

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Thefe thoughts rendered my mind more eafy than ufual. Every time I fat down to eat, I did it with thankfulnefs; admiring the providential hand of God, that in this wildernefs had fpread this table to me. And now I confidered what I enjoyed, rather than what I wanted; compared my prefent condition with what I at firft expected it fhould be; how I fhould have done, if I had got nothing out of the fhip; that I muft have perifhed before I had caught fifh or turtles; or lived, had I found them, like a mere favage, by eating them raw, and pulling them in pieces with my claws, like a beaft. I next compared my ftation to that which I deferved; how undutiful I had been to my parents, how deftitute of the fear of God; how void of every thing that was good; and how ungrateful for thofe abundant mercies I had received from heaven; being fed, as it were, by a miracle, even as great *Elijah's* being fed by ravens; and caft on a place where there was no venomous creature to poifon or devour me: In fhort, making God's tender mercies matter of great confolation, I relinquifhed all fadnefs, and gave way to contentment.

As long as my ink continued, which, with water, I made laft as long as I could, I ufed to minute down the days of the month on which any remarkable thing happened. And,

Firft, I obferved, That the fame day I forfook my parents and friends, and ran away to *Hull*, in order to go to fea, the fame day afterward, in the next year, I was taken and made a flave by the *Sallee* rover.

The very day I efcaped out of the wreck of the fhip in *Yarmouth* roads, a year after, on the fame day, I made my efcape from *Sallee*, in my patron's fifhing boat.

The 30th of *September*, being the day of the year I was born on, on that day twenty fix years after, I was miraculoufly faved, and caft on fhore on this ifland.

The next thing that wafted, after my ink, was the bifcuit which I had brought out of the fhip: And though I allowed myfelf but one cake a day, for above a twelvemonth, yet I was quite out of bread for near a year before I got any corn of my own.

In the next place, my clothes began to decay, and my linen had been gone long before; however, I had preferved about three dozen of the failors' check fhirts, which proved a great refrefhment to me, when the violent beams of the fun would not fuffer me to bear any of the feamens' heavy watch coats, which made me turn taylor, and, after a miferable botching manner, convert them into jackets. To preferve my head, I made me a cap of goat fkin, with the hair outwards, to keep out the rain; which indeed ferved me fo well, that I afterwards made me a waiftcoat and open knee'd breeches of the fame: And then I contrived a fort of an umbrella, covering

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it with ſkins, which not only kept out the heat of the ſun, but the rain alſo. Thus being eaſy and ſettled in my mind, my chiefeſt happineſs was to converſe with God, in moſt heavenly and comfortable ejaculations.

For five years after this I cannot ſay any extraordinary thing occurred to me. My chief employment was to cure my raiſins, and plant my barley and rice, of both which I had a year's proviſion beforehand. But though I was diſappointed in my firſt canoe, I made it, at intermediate times, my buſineſs to make a ſecond, of much inferior ſize; and it was two years before I finiſhed it. But as I perceived it would no ways anſwer my deſign of ſailing to the other ſhore, my thoughts were confined to take a tour round the iſland, to ſee what further diſcoveries I could make. To this intent, after having moved her to the water, and tried how ſhe would ſail, I fitted up a little maſt to her, and made a ſail of the ſhip's ſail that lay by me. I then made lockers or boxes at the end of it, to put in neceſſary proviſions and ammunition, which would preſerve them dry either from rain, or the ſpray of the ſea; and in the inſide of the boat I cut a long hollow place to lay my gun, and to keep it dry, made a flag to hang over it; my umbrella I fixed in a ſtep in the ſtern like a maſt, to keep the heat of the ſun off me: And now, reſolving to ſee the circumference of my little kingdom, I victualled my ſhip for the voyage, putting in two dozen of my barley bread loaves, an earthen pot full of parched rice, a little bottle of rum, half a goat, powder and ſhot, and two watch coats. It was the 6th of *November*, in the 6th year of my reign, or captivity, that I ſet out in this voyage, which was much longer than I expected, being obliged to put further out, by reaſon of the rocks that lay a great way in the ſea: And indeed ſo much did theſe rocks ſurpriſe me, that I was for putting back, fearing, that if I ventured further it would be out of my power to return. In this confuſion I came to an anchor juſt off ſhore, to which I waded with my gun on my ſhoulder, and then, climbing up an hill, which overlooked that point, I ſaw the full extent of it, and reſolved to run all hazard.

In this proſpect from the hill, I perceived a violent current running to the eaſt, coming very cloſe to the point; which I the more carefully obſerved, thinking it dangerous, and that, when I came to it, I might be drove into the ſea by its force, and not able to return to the iſland; and certainly it muſt have been ſo, had I not made this obſervation; for on the other ſide was the like current, with this difference, that it ſet off at a greater diſtance; when I perceived there was a ſtrong eddy under the land, ſo that my chiefeſt buſineſs was to work out of the firſt current, and conveniently get into an eddy. Two days I ſtaid here, the wind blowing very briſkly E. S. E.

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which, being contrary to the current, leaves a great breach on the ſea upon the point; ſo it was not fit for me to keep too near the ſhore, upon account of the breach; nor to ſtand at too great diſtance, for fear of the ſtreams. That night the wind abating, it grew ſo calm that I ventured out; but ſurely I was to be a memento to all raſh and ignorant pilots: For I was no ſooner come to the point, and not above the boat's length from the ſhore, but I was got into a deep water, with a current like a mill, which drove my boat along ſo violently, that it was impoſſible for me to keep her ſo much as to the edge of it; but it forced me more and more out from the eddy to the left of me, and all I could do with my paddles was uſeleſs, there being no wind to help me.

Alas! now I began to think myſelf quite loſt; ſince, as the current ran on both ſides of the iſland, I was very certain they muſt join again, and then I had no hopes but of periſhing for want, in the ſea, after what proviſions I had was ſpent, or before, if a ſtorm ſhould happen to ariſe.

Who can conceive the preſent anguiſh of my mind at this calamity? With longing eyes did I look upon my little kingdom, and thought the iſland the pleaſanteſt place in the univerſe. Happy, thrice happy deſart, ſaid I, ſhall I never ſee thee more? Wretched creature! whither am I going? Why did I murmur at my loneſome condition, when now I would give the whole world to be there again? While I was thus contemplating, I found myſelf to be driven about two leagues into the ſea; however, I laboured till my ſtrength was ſpent, to keep my boat as far north as poſſibly I could, to that ſide of the current where the eddy lay on. About noon, I perceived a little breeze of wind ſpring up from the S. S. E. which overjoyed my heart the more, when, in about half an hour, it blew a gentle fine gale. Had any thick weather ſprung up, I had been loſt another way; for having no compaſs on board, I ſhould never have found the way to ſteer towards the iſland, if once it had diſappeared; but it proving the contrary, I ſet up my maſt again, ſpread my ſail and ſtood away northward, as much as I could, to get rid of the current: And no ſooner did the boat begin to ſtretch away, but I perceived by the clearneſs of the water, a change of the current was near; for where it was clear, the current abated. To the eaſt, I ſoon ſaw, about half a mile, a breach of the ſea upon ſome rocks, which cauſed it again to ſeparate; and as the main force drove away more ſouthwardly, leaving the rocks to the north eaſt, ſo the other came back by the repulſe of the rocks, making a ſharp eddy, which returned back again to the north weſt with a very ſwift ſtream.

They who have experienced what it is to be reprieved upon the ladder, or to be ſaved from thieves juſt going to take away

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their lives, or elſe ſuch who have been in the like calamities, may gueſs my preſent exceſs of joy; how heartily I run my boat into the ſtream of this eddy, and how joyfully I ſpread my ſail to the refreſhing wind, ſtanding cheerfully before it with a ſmart tide under foot. By the aſſiſtance of this eddy, I was carried above a league home again, when being in the wake of the iſland, betwixt the two currents, I found the water to be at a ſort of a ſtand. About four o'clock in the afternoon I reached within a league of the iſland, and perceived the points of the rock, which cauſed this diſaſter, ſtretching out as I obſerved before, to the ſouthward, which, throwing off the current more ſouthwardly, had occaſioned another eddy to the north. But having a fair briſk gale, I ſtretched acroſs this eddy, and in an hour came within a mile of the ſhore, where I ſoon landed to my unſpeakable comfort: And after an humble proſtration, thanking God for my deliverance, with a reſolution to leave all thoughts of eſcaping aſide, I brought my boat ſafe into a little cove, and laid me down to take a welcome repoſe. When I awoke, I was conſidering how I might get my boat home; and coaſting along the ſhore, I came to a good bay, which ran up to a rivulet or brook, where finding a ſafe harbour, I ſtowed her as ſafe as if ſhe had been in a dry dock made on purpoſe for her.

And now I perceived myſelf not far from the place where before I had travelled on foot; when taking nothing with me except my gun and umbrella, I began my journey, and in the evening came to my bower, where I again laid me down to reſt. But it was not long before I was awakened, in great ſurpriſe, by a ſtrange voice that called me ſeveral times, *Robin, Robin, Robin Cruſoe, Poor Robin! Where are you, Robin Cruſoe? Where are you? Where have you been?*

So faſt was I aſleep at firſt, that I did not awake thoroughly; but half aſleep and half awake, I thought I dreamt that ſomebody ſpoke to me. But as the voice repeated *Robinſon Cruſoe* ſeveral times, being terribly affrighted, I ſtarted up in the utmoſt confuſion; when no ſooner were my eyes fully open, but I beheld my pretty *Poll* ſitting on the top of the hedge, and ſoon knew that it was he that called me; for juſt in ſuch bewailing language I uſed to talk and teach him, which he ſo exactly learned, that he would ſit upon my finger, and lay his bill cloſe to my face, and cry, *Poor Robinſon Cruſoe, where are you? Where have you been? How came you here?* And ſuch like prattle as I had conſtantly taught him. But as I knew it to be the parrot, it was a great while before I could adjuſt myſelf; firſt, I was amazed, how the creature got thither, and that he ſhould fix about that place, and no where elſe. When I was aſſured it could be no other than my honeſt *Poll*, my wonder ceaſed; ſo reaching out my hand, and calling familiar-

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ly, *Poll*, the creature came to me, and perched upon my thumb, as he was wont, conſtantly prating to me, with *Poor Robin Crueſoe*, and *How did I come here?* and *Where had I been?* As if the bird was overjoyed to ſee me; and ſo I took him home along with me.

Now though I was pretty well cured of my rambling to ſea again, yet I could wiſh my boat, which had coſt me ſo much trouble and pains, on this ſide the iſland once more, which indeed was impracticable. And ſo I led a very retired life, living near a twelvemonth, in a very contented manner, wanting for nothing except converſation. As to mechanic labours, which my neceſſities obliged me to, I fancied I could, upon occaſion, make a tolerable carpenter, were the tools I had to work withal but good. Beſides, as I improved in my earthen ware, I contrived to make them with a wheel, which I found much eaſier and better; making my work ſhapeable, which before was rude and ugly. But I think I was never ſo elevated with my own performance, or project, as for being able to make a tobacco pipe; which though it proved an awkward, clumſy thing, yet it was very ſound, and carried the ſmoke perfectly well, to my great ſatisfaction.

Alſo I improved my wicker ware, making me abundance of neceſſary baſkets, which though not very handſome, were very handy and convenient to fetch things home in, as alſo for holding my ſtores, barley, rice, and other proviſions.

My powder beginning to fail, made me examine after what manner I ſhould kill the goats or birds to live on, after it was all gone. Upon which I contrived many ways to enſnare the goats, and ſee if I could catch them alive, particularly a ſhe goat with young. At laſt I had my deſire; for making pitfalls and traps, bated with barley and rice, I found one morning in one of them an old he goat, and in the other three kids, one male, the other two females.

So boiſterous was the old one, that I could not bring him away. But I forgot the proverb, *That hunger will tame a lion:* For had I kept him three or four days without victuals, and then given him ſome water with a little corn, he would have been as tame as a young kid. The other creatures I bound with ſtrings together. But I had great difficulty before I could bring them to my habitation. It was ſome time before they would feed, when throwing them ſome corn, it ſo much tempted them, that they began to be tame; from hence I concluded that if I deſigned to furniſh myſelf with goats' fleſh, when my ammunition was ſpent, the tamely breeding them up like a flock of ſheep about my ſettlement, was the only method I could take. I concluded alſo, I muſt ſeparate the wild from the tame, or elſe they would always run wild as they grew up; and the beſt way for this was to have ſome enclofed

piece of ground, well fenced, either with hedge or pale, to keep them so effectually, that those within might not break out, or those without break in. Such an undertaking was very great for one pair of hands; but as there was an absolute necessity for doing it, my first care was, to find a convenient piece of ground where there was likely to be herbage for them to eat, water to drink, and cover to keep them from the sun.

But here I began madly, pitching upon a piece of meadow land so large, that had I enclosed it with infinite pains, this hedge or pale must have been at least two miles about. Indeed had it been ten miles I had time enough to do it in; but then I did not consider that my goats would be as wild in so much compass, as if they had had the whole island, and consequently as difficult for me to catch them. And this thought came into my head, after I had carried on, I believe, about fifty yards; when I resolved to enclose a piece of ground 150 yards in length and 100 in breadth, sufficient enough for as many as would maintain me, till such time as my flock encreased, and then I could add more ground. Upon which, I vigorously prosecuted my work, and it took me about three months in hedging the first piece; in which time I tethered the three kids in the best part of it, feeding them as near me as possible to make them familiar: and indeed very often would I carry some ears of barley, or a handful of rice, and feed them out of my hand; by which means they grew so tame, that when my enclosure was finished, and I had let them loose, they would run after me for an handful of corn. This indeed answered my end; and in a year and a half's time I had a flock of about twelve goats, kids and all; and in two years after, they amounted to three and forty, besides what I had taken and killed for my sustenance. After this, I enclosed five several pieces of ground to feed them in, with pens to drive them into, that I might take them as I had occasion.

But still I had additional blessings, not only in having plenty of goats' flesh, but milk too, which in my beginning I did not so much as think of: And indeed, though I had never milked a cow, much less a goat, or seen butter or cheese made, yet, after some essays and miscarriages, I made me both, and never afterwards wanted.

How mercifully can the Omnipotent Power comfort his creatures, even in the midst of their greatest calamities: How can he sweeten the bitterest Providences, and give us reason to magnify him in dungeons and prisons! what a bounteous table was here spread in a wilderness for me, when I expected nothing at first but to perish with hunger.

Certainly, a stoic would have smiled to have seen me at dinner; there was my royal Majesty, an absolute prince and ruler of my kingdom, attended by my dutiful subjects, whom,

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if I pleafed, I could either hang, draw, quarter, give liberty, or take it away. When I dined, I feemed a King, eating alone, none daring prefume to do fo till I had done. *Poll*, as if he had been my principal court favourite, was the only perfon permitted to talk with me. My old but faithful dog, now grown exceeding crazy, and had found no fpecies to multiply his kind upon, continually fat at my right hand; while my two cats fat on each fide of the table, expecting a bit from my hand, as a principal mark of my royal favour. Yet thefe were not the cats I had brought from the fhip; they had been dead long before, and interred near my habitation by mine own hand: But one of them, as I fuppofe, generating with a wild cat, thefe were the couple I had made tame; whereas the reft run into the woods, and grew fo impudent as to return and plunder me of my ftores, till fuch time as I fhot a great many, and the reft left me with this attendance. And in this very plentiful manner did I live, wanting for nothing but converfation. One thing more indeed concerned me, the want of my boat. I knew not which way to get her round the ifland. I refolved one time to go along the fhore by land to her, but had any one in *England* met fuch a figure, it would either affright them, or make them burft into laughter: Nay, myfelf could not but fmile at my habit, which I think, in this place, it is very proper to defcribe.

The cap I had upon my head was great, high, and fhapelefs, made of a goat fkin, with a flap or penthoufe hanging down behind, not only to keep the fun from me, but to fhoot the rain off from running into my neck, nothing being more pernicious than the rain falling upon the flefh in thefe parts. I had a fhort jacket of goat fkin, whofe hair hung down fuch a length on either fide, that it reached down the calves of my legs. As for fhoes and ftockings I had none, but made a refemblance of fomething, I know not what to call them; they were made like buffkins, and laced on the fides like fpatterdafhes, barbaroufly fhaped, like the reft of my habit. I had on me a broad belt of goat fkin dried, girt round with a couple of thongs inftead of buckles; on each of which, to fupply the deficiency of fword and dagger, hung my hatchet and faw. I had another belt, not fo broad, yet faftened in the fame manner, which hung over my fhoulder; and at the end of it, under my left arm, hung two pouches, made alfo of goat fkin, to hold my powder and fhot. My bafket I carried on my back, and my gun on my fhoulder, and over my head a great clumfy ugly goat fkin umbrella, which, however, next my gun was the moft neceffary thing about me. As for my face, the colour was not fo fwarthy as the mulattoes, as might be expected from fuch a perfon as I, who took fo little care of it in a climate within nine or ten degrees from the equator. At one

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time my beard grew ſo long, that it hung down above a quarter of a yard; but as I had both razors and ſciſſars in ſtore, I cut it all off, and ſuffered none to grow except a large pair of *Mahometan* whiſkers, the like of which I had ſeen worn by ſome *Turks* at *Sallee*, not long enough to hang a hat upon, but of ſuch a monſtrous ſize, as would have amazed any in *England* to have ſeen.

But all this was of no conſequence here, there being none to obſerve my behaviour or habit. And ſo without fear, and without control, I proceeded on my journey, the proſecution of which took me up five or ſix days. I firſt travelled along the ſea ſhore, directly to the place where I firſt brought my boat to an anchor, to get upon the rocks. But now, having no boat to take care of, I went over the land a nearer way, to the ſame heighth that I was upon before; when looking forward to the point of the rock which lay out, and which I was forced to double with my boat, I was amazed to ſee the ſea ſo ſmooth and quiet, there being no ripling, motion, or current, any more than in other places: Which made me indeed ponder ſome time to imagine the reaſon of it, when at laſt I was convinced how it was, which was this; the ebb ſetting from the weſt, and joining with the currents of waters from ſome great rivers on the ſhore, muſt be the occaſion of theſe rapid ſtreams; and that conſequently as the winds blew more weſtwardly, or more ſoutherly, ſo the current came the nearer, or went the further from ſhore. To ſatisfy my curioſity, I waited there till evening, when the tide of ebb being made from the rock, I plainly perceived the current again as before, with this difference, that it ran farther off, near half a league from the ſhore; whereas in my condition, it ſet quite upon it, furiouſly hurrying me and my canoe along with it, which at another time it would not have done. And now I was convinced, that, by obſerving the ebbing and flowing of the tide, I might eaſily bring my boat round the iſland again: But when I began to think of putting it in practice, the remembrance of the late danger I was in, ſtruck me with ſuch horrour, that I changed my reſolution, which was more ſafe, though more laborious; and this was to make another canoe, and ſo have one for one ſide of the iſland, and one for the other.

Here I think it very proper to inform my readers, that I had two plantations in the iſland; the firſt was my little fortification, fort, or caſtle, with many large and ſpacious improvements: For by this time I had enlarged the cave behind me with ſeveral little caves, one within another, to hold my baſkets, corn and ſtraw. The piles with which I made my wall were grown ſo lofty and great, as obſcured my habitation: And near this commodious and pleaſant ſettlement lay my two well cultivated and improved corn fields, which kind-

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ly yielded me their fruit in the proper ſeaſon. My ſecond plantation was that near my country ſeat, or little bower, where my grapes flouriſhed, and where, having planted many ſtakes, I made encloſures for my goats, ſo ſtrongly fortified by labour and time, that it was much ſtronger than a wall, and conſequently impoſſible for them to break through. As for my bower itſelf, I kept it conſtantly in repair, and cut the trees in ſuch a manner as made them grow thick and wild, and form the moſt delightful ſhade. In the centre of this ſtood my tent, thus erected: I had driven four piles in the ground, ſpreading over them a piece of the ſhip's ſail; beneath which I made me a ſort of a couch with the ſkins of the creatures I had ſlain, and other things; and having laid thereon one of the ſailors' blankets, which I had ſaved from the wreck of the ſhip, and covering myſelf with a great watch coat, I took up this place for my country retreat.

Very frequently from this ſettlement did I uſe to viſit my boat, and kept her in very good order. And ſometimes I would venture in her a caſt or two from ſhore, but no farther, leſt either a ſtrong current, a ſudden ſtormy wind, or ſome unlucky accident, ſhould hurry me from the iſland as before. But now I entreat your attention, while I proceed to inform you of a new but moſt ſurpriſing ſcene of life, wherein I was acting again in a ſtranger manner.

You may ſuppoſe that after I had been here ſo long, nothing could have been more amazing than to have ſeen a human creature. But one day it happened, that, going to my boat, I ſaw the print of a man's naked foot on the ſhore, very evident on the ſand, as the toes, heel, and every part of it. Had I ſeen an apparition, in the moſt frightful manner, I could not have been more confounded: My willing ears gave the ſtricteſt attention. I caſt my eyes around, but neither could ſatisfy the one or the other. When I proceeded alternately to every part of the ſhore, ſtill it was all as one; neither could I ſee any other mark, though the ſand about it was as ſuſceptible to take impreſſion as that which was ſo plainly ſtampt. Thus, ſtruck with confuſion and horrour, I returned to my habitation, frightened at every buſh and tree, as taking them for men; and, being poſſeſſed with the wildeſt ideas, got over I cannot tell how. But that night my eyes never cloſed, though farther from danger, when even then, I formed nothing but the moſt diſmal imaginations, thinking it muſt be the mark of the Devil's foot which I had ſeen: For otherwiſe how could any mortal body come to this iſland? And if ſo, where was the ſhip that tranſported them? And what ſigns of any other footſteps? Though theſe ſeemed very ſtrong reaſons for ſuch a ſuppoſition, yet, (thought I) why ſhould the Devil make the print of his foot to no purpoſe, as I can ſee, when he might

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have taken other ways to have terrified me? Why ſhould he leave his mark on the other ſide of the iſland, and that too on the ſand, where the ſurging waves of the ocean might ſoon have eraſed the impreſſion. Surely this action is not conſiſtent with the ſubtilty of SATAN, ſaid I to myſelf, but rather muſt be ſome dangerous creature, ſome wild ſavage of the main land over againſt me, that, venturing too far in the ocean, was driven here either by the violent currents or contrary winds; and ſo, not caring to ſtay on this deſolate iſland, was gone back to ſea again.

Happy was I in my thoughts that no ſavage had ſeen me in that place, yet much terrified, leſt, having found my boat, they ſhould return in numbers and deſtroy me, or at leaſt carry away all my corn, and deſtroy my flock of tame goats: In a word, all my religious hopes vaniſhed, as though I thought God could not protect me by his power, who had ſo wonderfully preſerved me ſo long.

What various chains of Providence there are in the life of man! How changeable are our affections, according to different circumſtances? We love to day what we hate to morrow; we ſhun one hour what we ſeek the next; and this was evident in me in the moſt perſpicuous manner; for I, who before had ſo much lamented my condition, in being baniſhed from all human kind, was now almoſt ready to expire, when I conſidered that a man had ſet his foot on this deſolate iſland. But when I conſidered my ſtation of life, decreed by the infinitely wiſe and good Providence of God; that I ought not to diſpute my Creator's ſovereignty, who had an undoubted right to govern and diſpoſe of his creatures as he thinks convenient; and that his juſtice and mercy could either puniſh or deliver me: I ſay, when I conſidered all this, I comfortably found it my duty to truſt ſincerely in him, pray ardently to him, and humbly reſign myſelf to his divine will.

One morning, lying on my bed, theſe words of the ſacred writings came again into my mind, *Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will deliver thee, and thou ſhalt glorify me.* Upon this ſentence, riſing more cheerfully from my bed, I offered up my prayers in the moſt heavenly manner: And when I had done, taking up my Bible to read, theſe words appeared firſt in my ſight: *Wait on the Lord, and be of good cheer, and he ſhall ſtrengthen thy heart; wait, I ſay, on the Lord.* Such divine comfort did this give me, as to remove all cauſe of ſadneſs upon that occaſion.

Thus, after a world of apprehenſions and fears, for three days and nights, at laſt I ventured out of my caſtle, and milked my goats, one of which was almoſt ſpoiled for want of it. I next, though in great fear, viſited my bower, and milked my flocks there alſo; when growing bolder, I went

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down to the ſhore again, and meaſuring the print of the foot to mine, to ſee whether, perhaps, I myſelf had not occaſioned that mark, I found it much ſuperior in largeneſs; and ſo I returned home poſſeſſed with the notion, that either ſome men had been aſhore, or that the iſland muſt be inhabited; and therefore, that I might be ſurpriſed before I was aware.

Struck with a ſecond and more terrible fear, ſeveral thoughts of ſecurity came into my mind: And that night I was firſt propoſing to cut down my encloſures, and turn my tame cattle wild into the woods, that the enemy might not find them, and frequent the iſland in hopes of the ſame. *Secondly*, I was for digging up my corn fields, for the very ſame reaſon: And, *Laſtly*, I concluded to demoliſh my bower, leſt ſeeing ſuch a place of human contrivance, they might come farther and attack me in my little caſtle.

Such notions did the fear of danger ſuggeſt unto me; and I looked, I thought, like the unfortunate King *Saul*, when not only oppreſſed by the *Philiſtines*, but alſo forſaken by God himſelf: And it is ſtrange, that a little before having entirely reſigned myſelf to the will of God, I ſhould now have ſo little confidence in him, fearing thoſe more who might kill this fading body, than him who could deſtroy my immortal ſoul.

Sleep was an utter ſtranger to my eyes that night; yet nature, ſpent and tired, ſubmitted to a ſilent repoſe the next morning: And then, joining reaſon with my fear, I conſidered, that this delightful and pleaſant iſland might not be entirely forſaken, as I might think; or that the inhabitants from the other ſhore might ſail either with deſign or neceſſity by croſs winds; and if the latter circumſtance, they departed upon the firſt opportunity. But ſtill my fear occaſioned me to think of a place for retreat, upon an attack. I now repented that I had made the door that came out beyond my fortification; but reſolving to make me a ſecond, I drove between that double row of trees, which I planted about twelve years before, ſeveral piles, thickening it with pieces of timber and old cables, and ſtrengthening the foot of it with earth which I dug out of my cave. I alſo made me ſeven holes, wherein I planted my muſkets like cannon, fitting them into frames reſembling carriages. This being finiſhed with indefatigable induſtry, for a great way round I planted ſticks of oſier like wood, about twenty thouſand of them, leaving a large ſpace between them and my wall, that I might have room to ſee an enemy, and that they might not be ſheltered by the young trees, if they offered to approach the outer wall. And indeed ſcarce two years had paſſed over my head, when there appeared a lovely ſhady grove, and in ſix years it became a thick wood perfectly impaſſable. For my ſafety, I left no

avenue

avenue to go in or out; inſtead of which I ſet two ladders; one to a part of the rock which was low, and then broke in, leaving room to place another ladder upon that; ſo that when I took thoſe down, it was impoſſible for any man to deſcend without hurting himſelf; and if they had, they would ſtill be at the outſide of my outer wall. But while I took all theſe meaſures of human prudence for my own preſervation, I was not altogether unmindful of other affairs: To preſerve my flocks of tame goats, that the enemy ſhould not take all at once, I looked out for the moſt retired part of the iſland, which was the place where I had loſt myſelf before mentioned, and there finding a clear piece of land, containing three acres, ſurrounded with thick woods, I worked ſo hard, that in leſs than a month's time I fenced it ſo well round, that my flocks were very well ſecured in it, putting therein two he goats and two ſhe ones. As this labour was occaſioned purely by my fearful apprehenſions, on account of ſeeing the print of a man's foot; not contented with what I had done, I ſearched for another place toward the weſt point of the iſland, where I might alſo retain another flock. Then methought I perceived a boat at a great diſtance in the ſea; but could not poſſibly tell what it was, for want of my perſpective glaſs. I conſidered then it was no ſtrange thing to ſee the print of a man's foot; and concluding them cannibals, bleſſed God for my being caſt on the other ſide of the iſland, where none of the ſavages, as I thought, ever came. But when I came down the hill to the ſhore, which was the S. W. point of the iſland, I was not only amazed, but perfectly confirmed in my opinion: For the place was ſpread with ſkulls, hands, feet, and bones of human bodies; and then I perceived a ſpace like a circle, in the midſt of which had been a fire; about this fire I conjectured theſe wretches ſat, and unnaturally ſacrificed and devoured their fellow creatures.

The horror and lothſomeneſs of this dreadful ſpectacle both confounded my ſenſes, and made me diſcharge the violent diſorder from my ſtomach. So that when I had vomited in a very exceſſive manner, I returned towards my habitation; and in my way thither ſhedding floods of tears, and falling down on my bended knees, gave God thanks for making my nature contrary to theſe wretches, and delivering me ſo long out of their hands.

Now, though reaſon and my long reſidence there had aſſured me, that theſe ſavages never came up to the thick woody parts of the country; and that I had no occaſion to diſcover myſelf, who was ſo perfectly concealed from them; yet ſuch an abhorrence did I ſtill retain, that, for two years after, I confined myſelf only to my three plantations; I mean my caſtle, country ſeat, and enclofure in the woods. And when, in this ſoli-

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tary life, my dreadful apprehenſions began to wear away, yet my eyes were more vigilant for fear of being ſurprized, and I was cautious of firing my gun, left being heard by thoſe creatures, they ſhould proceed to attack me; but reſolving manfully to loſe my life if they did, I went armed with three piſtols ſtuck in my girdle, which, added to the deſcription I have given of myſelf before, made me look with a very formidable appearance.

And thus my circumſtances for ſome time remained very calm and undiſturbed. When I compared my condition to others, I found it far from being miſerable: And indeed would all perſons compare their circumſtances, not with thoſe above them, but with thoſe innumerable unhappy objects beneath them, I am ſure we ſhould not hear thoſe daily murmurings and complainings that are in the world. For my part, I did not want many things: Indeed the terror which the ſavages had put me in ſpoilt ſome inventions for my own conveniences; one of which was really very ridiculous, except I could accompliſh it, and happy it was they hindered me from putting it in practice. My deſign was to brew me ſome beer, when I had neither caſks ſufficient, nor could make any, to preſerve it in; neither had I hops to make it keep, yeaſt to make it work, nor a copper or kettle to make it boil. Perhaps indeed, after ſome years, I might bring this to bear, as I had done other things: But now my inventions were placed another way; and one was, how I might deſtroy ſome of theſe cannibals, when proceeding to their bloody entertainments; and ſo ſaving a victim from being ſacrificed, he might after become my ſervant. Many were my contrivances for this purpoſe, and as many more objections occured after I hatched them: For when I contrived to dig a hole under the place where they made their fire, and put therein five or ſix pounds of gunpowder, which would conſequently blow up all thoſe that were near it; why then I was loth to ſpend ſo much upon them, left it ſhould not do that certain execution I could deſire; and but only affright, and not kill them. Having laid this deſign aſide, I propoſed to myſelf to lay privately in ambuſh, in ſome convenient place, with my three guns double loaded, and let fly at them in the midſt of their dreadful ceremony; and having killed two or three of them at every ſhot, fall upon the reſt ſuddenly with my three piſtols, and not let one mother's ſon eſcape. And ſo much did this imagination pleaſe my fancy, that I uſed to dream of it in the night time. To put my deſign in execution, I was not long ſeeking for a place very convenient for my purpoſe, where, unſeen, I might behold every action of the ſavages. Here I placed my two muſkets, each of which was loaded with a brace of ſlugs, and four or five ſmaller bullets, about the ſize of piſtol bullets;

the fowling piece was charged with near a handful of the largeſt ſwan ſhot; and in every piſtol were about four bullets. And thus all things being prepared, no ſooner would the welcome light ſpread over the element, but, *like a giant refreſhed with wine*, as the Scripture has it, would I iſſue forth from my caſtle, and, from a lofty hill, three miles diſtant, view if I could ſee any invaders approach unlawfully to my kingdom. But having waited in vain two or three months, it not only grew very tireſome to me, but brought me into ſome conſideration, and made me examine myſelf, what right I had to kill theſe creatures in this manner?

If (argued I to myſelf) this unnatural cuſtom of theirs be a ſin offenſive to heaven, it belongs to the Divine Being, who alone has the vindictive power in his hands, to ſhower down vengeance upon them: And perhaps he does ſo, in making them become one another's executioners. Or if not, if God thinks theſe doings juſt, according to the knowledge which they conceive, what authority have I to pretend to all the decrees of Providence, which has permitted theſe actions for ſo many ages, perhaps from almoſt the beginning of the creation? They never offended me, what right had I then to concern myſelf in their ſhedding one another's blood? And, as I have ſince known, they value no more to kill and devour a captive taken in war, than we do to kill an ox, or eat mutton. From hence it followed, that theſe people were no more murderers than Chriſtians, who many times put whole troops to the ſword, after throwing down their arms. Again I conſidered, that if I fell upon them, I ſhould be as much in the wrong as the *Spaniards*, who had committed the greateſt barbarities upon theſe people, who had never offended them in their whole lives; as if the kingdom of *Spain* was eminent for a race of men without common compaſſion to the miſerable, which is reckoned to be a principal ſign of the moſt generous temper. In a word, I concluded never to attack them, whoſe numbers might overpower me; or that ſome eſcaping, might bring thouſands to my certain deſtruction; nor ſo much as to ſhew myſelf, which might oblige me even to a neceſſary duty of defence. And indeed religion took their part ſo much, as to convince me, how contrary it was to my duty to be guilty of ſhedding human blood, innocent as to my particular, whatever they are to one another; and that I had nothing to do with it, but leave it to the God of all power and dominion, as I ſaid before, to do therein what ſeemed convenient to his heavenly wiſdom. And therefore, on my knees, I thanked the Almighty for delivering me from blood guiltineſs, and begged his protection that I might never fall into their hands.

Thus, giving over an attempt which I had raſhly begun, I never aſcended the hill on that occaſion afterwards; only I removed

moved my boat which lay on the other ſide of the iſland, and every thing, ſuch as they were, that belonged to her, towards the eaſt, into a little cove, that there might not be the leaſt ſhadow of diſcovery of any boat near, or habitation upon the iſland. And then my caſtle became my cell, keeping very retired in it, except to milk my ſhe goats, and order my little flock in the wood, which was quite out of danger; for ſure it is, theſe ſavages never came here with expectations to find any thing, and conſequently never wandered from the coaſt; and as they might have ſeveral times been on ſhore, as well before as after my dreadful apprehenſions, I looked back with horrour to think in what a ſtate I might have been, had I ſuddenly met them ſlenderly armed, with one gun only loaded with ſmall ſhot: And how great would have been my amazement, if, inſtead of ſeeing the print of one man's foot, I had perceived fifteen or twenty ſavages, who, having once ſet their eyes upon me, by the ſwiftneſs of their feet, there was no poſſibility of my eſcaping? Theſe thoughts would ſink my very ſoul within me, ſo that I would fall into a deep melancholy, till ſuch time as the conſideration of my gratitude to the Divine Being moved it from my heart. And then I fell into a contemplation of the ſecret ſprings of Providence: How wonderfully we are delivered, when we are inſenſible of it; and when intricated in uncertain mazes or labyrinths of doubt or heſitation, what ſecret hint ſhall direct us in the right way, when we intended to go out of it; nay, perhaps, contrary to our buſineſs, ſenſe or inclination. Upon which, I fixed within me this as a certain rule, *Never to diſobey thoſe ſecret impreſſions of my mind, to the acting or not acting any thing that offered, for which I yet could aſſign no reaſon:* But let it be how it will, the advantage of this conduct very eminently appeared in the latter part of my abode on this iſland; I am a ſtranger in determining whence theſe ſecret intimations of Providence derive; yet, methinks, they are not only ſome proofs of the converſe of ſpirits, but alſo of the ſecret communications they are ſuppoſed to have with thoſe that have not paſſed through the gloomy vale of death.

As in theſe many anxieties of mind, the care of my preſervation put a period to all inventions and contrivances, either for future accommodations or conveniences; ſo I never cared to drive a nail, chop a ſtick, fire a gun, or make a fire, leſt either the noiſe ſhould be heard or the ſmoke diſcover me: And, upon this acccount, I uſed to burn my earthen ware privately in a cave which I found in the wood, and which I made convenient for that purpoſe: But the principal cauſe that firſt brought me here, was to make charcoal, ſo that I might bake and dreſs my bread and meat, without any danger. While I was cutting down ſome wood for this purpoſe, I perceived a

cavity

cavity behind a very thick branch of under wood. Curious to look into it, I attained its mouth, and perceived it ſufficient for me to ſtand upright in it. But when I had entered and took a further view, two rolling ſhining eyes, like flaming ſtars, ſeemed to dart themſelves at me, ſo that I made all the haſte out that I could, as not knowing whether it was the Devil or a monſter that had taken up his reſidence in that place. But when I recovered from my ſurprize, I called myſelf a thouſand fools, for being afraid to ſee the Devil one moment, who had now lived almoſt twenty years in the moſt retired ſolitude: And therefore, reſuming all the courage I had, I took up a flaming firebrand, and in I ruſhed again; when not having proceeded above three ſteps, I was more affrighted than before; for then I heard a very loud ſigh, like that of a human creature in the greateſt agony, ſucceeded with a broken noiſe, reſembling words half expreſſed, and then a broken ſigh again. Stepping back, Lord! (thought I to myſelf) where am I got? Into what enchanted place have I plunged myſelf, ſuch as are reported to contain miſerable captives, till death puts an end to their ſorrow? And indeed ſuch a great amazement was I in, that it ſtruck me with a cold ſweat; and had my hat been on my head, I believe my hair would have moved it off. But again, encouraging myſelf with the hopes of God's protection, I proceeded forward, and, by the light of my firebrand, perceived it to be a monſtrous he goat, lying on the ground, gaſping for life, and dying of mere old age. When at firſt I ſtirred him, thinking to drive him out, the poor ancient creature ſtrove to get upon his feet, but was not able; ſo I e'en let him lie ſtill, to affright the ſavages, ſhould they venture into this cave. In the mean time, I looked round me, and found the place but ſmall and ſhapeleſs: At the further ſide of it I perceived a ſort of an entrance, yet ſo low as muſt oblige me to creep on my hands and knees to it; when, having no candle, I ſuſpended my enterprize till the next day, and then I came provided with ſix large ones of my own making.

When, upon my hands and feet I had crept through the ſtraight, I found the roof roſe higher up, I think, about twenty feet: But ſurely mortal never ſaw ſuch a glorious ſight in this iſland before! The roof and walls of this cave reflected a hundred thouſand lights to me from my two candles, as though they were indented with ſhining gold, precious ſtones, or ſparkling diamonds. And indeed it was the moſt delightful cavity or grotto, of its kind, as could be deſired, though entirely dark: The floor was dry and level, and had a kind of gravel upon it; no nauſeous venomous creature to be ſeen there, neither any damp or wet about it: I could find no fault but in the entrance, which I thought might be very neceſſary

for

for my defence, and therefore was resolved to make this place my most principal magazine. I brought hither two fowling pieces and three muskets, leaving only five pieces at my castle, planted in the nature of cannon. In a barrel of gunpowder, which I took out of the sea, I brought away about sixty pounds of good powder, which was not damaged; and these, with a great quantity of lead for bullets, I removed from my castle to this retreat, now fortified both by art and nature.

Surely it is no wonder, if at this time I thought myself like one of the giants of old, who were said to live in caves and holes among the rocks, inaccessible to any but themselves, or, at least, most dangerous to attempt. So that now it seems I despised both the cunning and strength of the savages, either to find me out or to hurt me.

But I must not forget the old goat, who caused my late dreadful amazement: The poor creature gave up the ghost the day after my discovery; and it being difficult to drag him out, I dug his grave, and honourably entombed him in the same place where he departed, with as much ceremony as any *Welsh* goat has been interred about the high mountain *Penmenmoure*.

I think I was now in the twenty third year of my reign, and much easier were my thoughts than formerly, contriving several pretty amusements and diversions, to pass away the time in a pleasant manner. By this time my pretty *Poll* had learnt to speak *English*, and pronounce his words very articulately and plain; so that for many hours we used to chat together after a very familiar manner, and he lived with me no less than twenty six years: My dog, who was nineteen years old, sixteen years of which he lived with me, died of mere old age: As for my cats, they multiplied so fast, that I was forced to kill or drive them into the woods, except two or three, which became my particular favourites. Besides these, I continually kept two or three household kids about me which I did learn to feed out of my hand, and two more parrots which would talk indifferently, and call *Robinson Crusoe*, but not so excellent as the first, as not taking that pains with them. Several sea fowls I had also, which having wounded, I cut their wings, and growing tame, they used to breed among the low trees about my castle walls; all which were very agreeable to me.

But what unforeseen events suddenly destroy the enjoyments of this uncertain state of life, when we least expect them! It was now the month of *December*, in the *Southern* solstice, and particular time of my harvest, which required my attendance in the fields; when going out pretty early one morning, before it was day light, there appeared to me, from the sea shore, a flaming light, about two miles from me, at the east end of the island, where I had observed some savages had been, as

before, but not on the other ſide; but, to my great affliction, it was on my ſide of the iſland.

Struck with a terrible ſurpriſe, and my uſual apprehenſions, that the ſavages would perceive my improvements, I returned directly to my caſtle, pulled up the ladder after me, making all things look as wild and natural as poſſibly I could. In the next place I put myſelf in a poſture of defence, by loading my muſkets and piſtols, and committing myſelf to God's protection, reſolving to defend myſelf till my lateſt breath. After two hours ſpace, impatient for intelligence, I ſet my ladder up to the ſide of the hill where there was a flat place; and then pulling the ladder after me, aſcended the top, where, laying myſelf on my belly, with my perſpective glaſs, I perceived no leſs than nine naked ſavages, ſitting round a ſmall fire, eating as I ſuppoſed, human fleſh, with their two canoes haled upon ſhore, waiting for the flood to carry them off again. You cannot eaſily expreſs the conſternation I was in at this ſight, eſpecially ſeeing them near me; but when I perceived their coming muſt be always with the current of the ebb, I became more eaſy in my thoughts, being very fully convinced, that I might go abroad with ſecurity all the time of flood, if they were not before landed. And indeed this proved juſt as I imagined; for no ſooner did they all take boat, and paddle away, but the tide made northweſt. Before they went off, they danced, making ridiculous poſtures and geſtures, for above an hour, all ſtark naked, but whether men, or women, or both, I could not perceive. When I ſaw them gone I took two guns upon my ſhoulders, and placing a couple of piſtols in my belt, with my great ſword hanging by my ſide, I went to the hill, where at firſt I made a diſcovery of theſe cannibals, and then ſaw there had been three canoes more of the ſavages on ſhore at that place, which, with the reſt, were making over to the main land.

But nothing could be more horrid to me, when going to the place of ſacrifice, the blood, the bones, and other mangled parts of human bodies, appeared in my ſight; and ſo, fired with indignation, I was fully reſolved to be revenged of the firſt that came there, though I loſt my life in the execution. It then appeared to me, that the viſits, which they made to this iſland, were not very frequent, it being fifteen months before they came again; all this time I was very uneaſy, by reaſon of the diſmal apprehenſions I had of their ſurpriſing me unawares; nor dared I offer to fire a gun on that ſide of the iſland where they uſed to appear, leſt taking the alarm, the ſavages might return with many hundred canoes, and then God knows in what manner I ſhould have made my end: And thus I was a year or more, before I ever ſaw any of theſe devouring cannibals again.

But

But to wave this discourse for a while, the following accident demands your attention, which for a while eluded the force of my thoughts in revenging myself on those heathens.

It was the 16th of *May* (according to my wooden calendar) that the wind blew exceedingly hard, accompanied with abundance of lightning and thunder all that day, and succeeded by a very stormy night. What occasioned this I could not imagine; but as the seeming anger of the heavens made me have recourse to the Bible, whilst I was seriously pondering upon it, I was suddenly alarmed with the noise of a gun, which I conjectured was fired upon the ocean. Such an unusual surprize, made me start up in a minute, when, with my ladder, ascending the mountain as before, that very moment a flash of fire presaged the report of another gun, which I presently heard, and found it was from that part of the sea where the current drove me away. I could not then think otherwise, but that this must be a ship in distress, and that these were the melancholy signals for a speedy deliverance. Indeed, great was my sorrow, upon this occasion, but altogether vain and fruitless. However, I brought together all the dry wood that was at hand, and making a handsome pile set it on fire on the hill. Certain it was, that they plainly perceived it, by their firing another gun, as soon as it began to blaze, and after that several more from the same quarter. All the night long did I keep up this fire; and when the air cleared up, I perceived something a great way at sea directly east, but could not distinguish what it was, even with my glass, by reason the weather was so very foggy out at sea. However, keeping my eyes directly fixt upon it, and perceiving it not to stir, I presently concluded it must be a ship at anchor; and so very hasty I was to be satisfied, that, taking my gun, I went to the south east part of the island, to the same rocks where I had been formerly drove away by the current; in which time the weather being perfectly cleared up, to my great sorrow, I perceived the wreck of a ship cast away upon those hidden rocks, which I found when I was out with my boat; and which, by making a kind of an eddy, were the occasion of my preservation.

Thus, what is one man's safety is another's ruin: For undoubtedly this ship had been driven on them in the night, the wind blowing strong at E. N. E. Now, had they perceived the island, as I could not imagine they did, certainly, instead of firing their guns for help, they might rather have ventured in their boat, and saved themselves that way. Then I thought, that perhaps they had done so, upon seeing my fire, and were cast away in the attempt; for I perceived no boat in the ship. Again, I imagined, that perhaps they had another vessel in company, which, upon signal, saved their lives, and took the boat up: Or lastly, that the boat might be driven into the

main

main ocean, where these poor creatures might be in the most miserable condition. But as all these conjectures were very uncertain, I could do no more than commiserate their distress, and thank God for delivering me, in particular, when so many perished in the raging ocean.

When I considered seriously every thing concerning this wreck, I could perceive no room to suppose any of them saved: I cannot explain, by any possible force of words, what longings my soul felt upon this sight, often breaking out in this manner: Oh! that there had been but two or three, nay even one person saved, that we might have lived together, conversed with and comforted one another! And so much were my desires moved, that when I repeated these words, *Oh! that there had been but one!* my hands would so clench together, and my fingers press the palms of my hands so close, that had any soft thing been between, they would have crushed it involuntarily, while my teeth would strike together, and set against each other so strong, that required some time for me to part them.

Till the last year of my being on this island, I never knew if any had been saved out of this ship or not; and had only the affliction some time after, to see the corpse of a drowned boy come on shore, at the end of the island, which was next the shipwreck: There was nothing on him but a seaman's waistcoat, a pair of open knee'd linen drawers and a blue linen shirt; but no particular mark to guess what nation he was of. In his pocket were two pieces of eight and a tobacco pipe, the last of which I preferred much more than I did the first. And now the calmness of the sea tempted me to venture out in my boat to this wreck, not only to get something necessary out of the ship, but perhaps some living creature might be on board, whose life I might preserve. This had such an influence upon my mind, that immediately I went home, and prepared every thing necessary for the voyage, carrying on board my boat, provisions of all sorts, with a good quantity of rum, fresh water and a compass. So putting off, I paddled the canoe along the shore, till I came at last to the N. E. part of the island, from whence I was to launch into the ocean; but here the currents ran so violently, and appeared so terrible, that my heart began to fail me; foreseeing that if I was driven into any of these currents, I might be carried not only out of the reach or sight of the island, but even inevitably lost in the boiling surges of the ocean.

So oppressed was I at these troubles, that I gave over my enterprize, sailing to a little creek on the shore, where stepping out, I sat me down on a rising hill, very pensive and thoughtful. I then perceived, that the tide was turned, and the flood came on, which made it impracticable for me to go

out

out for ſo many hours. To be more certain, how the ſets of the tides or currents lay when the flood came in, I aſcended a higher piece of ground, which overlooked the ſea both ways, and here I found, that as the current of the ebb ſet out cloſe by the ſouth point of the iſland, ſo the current of the flood ſet in cloſe by the ſhore of the north ſide; and all that I had to do, was, to keep to the north of the iſland in my return.

That night I repoſed myſelf in my canoe, covered with my watch coat inſtead of a blanket, the heavens being my teſter. I ſet out with the firſt of the tide full north, till I felt the benefit of the current, which carried me at a great rate eaſtward, yet not with ſuch impetuoſity as before, as to take from me all government of my canoe; ſo that in two hours time I came up to the wreck, which appeared to me in a moſt melancholy manner. It ſeemed to be a *Spaniſh* veſſel by its building, ſtuck faſt between two rocks; her ſtern and quarters beaten to pieces with the ſea; her main maſt and fore maſt were brought off by the board; as much as to ſay, broken ſhort off. As I approached nearer, I perceived a dog on board, who perceiving me coming, yelped and cried, and no ſooner did I call him, but the poor creature jumped into the ſea, out of which I took him almoſt famiſhed with hunger and thirſt: So that when I gave him a cake of bread, no ravenous wolf could devour it more greedily; and he drank to that degree of freſh water, that he would have burſt himſelf had I ſuffered him.

The firſt ſight I met with in the ſhip, were two men drowned in the cook room or forecaſtle, enclofed in one another's arms: Hence I very probably ſuppoſed, that when the veſſel ſtruck in the ſtorm, ſo high and inceſſantly did the waters break in, and over her, that the men, not being able to bear it, were ſtrangled by the conſtant rushing in of the waves. There were ſeveral caſks of liquor, whether wine or brandy, I could not be poſitive, which lay in the lower hold, as were plainly perceptible by the ebbing out of the water, yet were too large for me to pretend to meddle with: Likewiſe I perceived ſeveral cheſts, which I thought might belong to the ſeamen; two of them I got into my boat, without examining then what were in them. Now had the ſtern of the ſhip been fixed, and the fore part broken off, certain I am I ſhould have made a very proſperous voyage; ſince by what I after found in theſe two cheſts, I could not otherwiſe conclude, but that the ſhip muſt have abundance of wealth on board: nay, if I muſt gueſs by the courſe ſhe ſteered, ſhe muſt have been bound from *Buenos Ayres*, or *Rio de la Plata*, in the ſouthern part of *America*, beyond the *Braſils*, to the *Havanah*, in the gulph of *Mexico*, and ſo perhaps to *Spain*. What became of the reſt of her ſailors, I could not certainly tell; and all her riches ſignified nothing at that time to any body.

Searching

Searching farther, I found a cask, containing about twenty gallons, full of liquor, which with some labour I got into my boat: In a cabin were several muskets, which I let remain there, but took away with me a great powder horn, and about four pounds of powder in it; I took also a fire shovel and tongs, two brass kettles, a copper pot to make chocolate, and a gridiron, all which were extremely necessary to me, especially the fire shovel and tongs. And so with this cargo, accompanied with my dog, I came away, the tide serving for that purpose; and that same evening, about an hour within night, I attained the island, after the greatest toil and fatigue imaginable.

That night I reposed my wearied limbs in the boat, resolving the next morning to harbour what I had gotten in my new found subterraneous grotto, and not carry my cargo home to my ancient castle. When I had refreshed myself, and got all my effects on shore, I proceeded to examine the particulars: And so tapping the cask, I found the liquor to be a kind of rum, but not like what we had at the *Brasils*, nor indeed near so good. At the opening of the chest, several things appeared very useful to me: For instance, I found in one a very fine case of bottles, containing the finest and best sorts of cordial waters: Each bottle held about three pints, curiously tipt with silver. I found also two pots full of the choicest sweet-meats, and two more which the water had utterly spoiled. There were likewise several good shirts, exceedingly welcome to me, and about a dozen and a half of linen white handkerchiefs and coloured neckloths, the former of which were absolutely necessary for wiping my face in a hot day; and in the till, I found three bags of pieces of eight, about eleven hundred in all; in all of which, decently wrapt up in a piece of paper, were six doubloons of gold, and some small bars and wedges of the same metal, which I believe might weigh near a pound. In the other chest, which I guessed to belong to the gunner's mate, by the mean circumstances that attended it, I only found some clothes of very little value, except about two pounds of fine glazed powder, in three flasks, kept, as I believe, for charging their fowling-pieces on any occasion. So that on the whole, I had no great advantage by this voyage: The money was indeed as mere dirt to me, useless and unprofitable, all which I would have freely parted with for two or three *English* pair of shoes and stockings; things that for many years I had not worn; except lately those which I had taken off the feet of those unfortunate men I found drowned in the wreck, yet not so good as *English* shoes, either for ease or service: And having found in the seamen's chest about fifty pieces of eight in rials, but no gold, I suppose what I took from the first belonged to an officer, to whom this seemed to have a much

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inferior perſon its owner. Well, the money, as deſpicable as it ſeemed, I likewiſe lugged to my cave, laying it up ſecurely as I did the reſt of my cargo. After I had done all this, I returned back to my boat, rowing or paddling her along till I came to my old harbour, where I carefully laid her up, and ſo made the beſt of my way to my caſtle. When I arrived there, every thing ſeemed ſafe and quiet; ſo that now my only buſineſs, was to repoſe myſelf after my wonted manner, and take care of my domeſtic affairs. But though I might have lived very eaſy, as wanting for nothing abſolutely needful, yet ſtill I was more vigilant than uſual on account of the ſavages, never going much abroad; or if I did, it was to the *Eaſt* part of the iſland, where I was well aſſured that the ſavages never came, and where I might not be troubled to carry that heavy load of weapons for my defence, as I was obliged to do if I went the other way.

Two years did I live in this anxious condition, in all which time, contrary to my former reſolutions, my heart was filled with nothing but projects and deſigns how I might eſcape from this iſland: And ſo much were my wandering thoughts bent on a rambling diſpoſition, that had I the ſame boat I went from *Sallee* in, I ſhould have ventured once more to the uncertainty of the raging ocean.

But certainly I was an unhappy inſtance of that part of mankind, who make themſelves wretched by their diſſatisfaction with the ſtation which God has placed them in: For not to take a review of my primitive condition, and my father's excellent advice, the contrary to which was, as I may ſay, my *original ſin*, my following miſtakes, of the ſame nature, had been the means of my preſent unhappy ſtation. What buſineſs had I to leave a ſettled fortune, and well ſtocked plantation, improving and increaſing, where by this time I might have been worth a hundred thouſand moidores, to turn ſupercargo to *Guinea*, to fetch *Negroes*, when time and patience would have ſo much enlarged our ſtock at home, as to be able to employ thoſe, whoſe more immediate buſineſs it was to fetch them home, even to our doors?

But as this is very commonly the fate of young heads, ſo as a ſerious reflection upon the folly of it, ordinarily attends the exerciſe of future years, when the dear bought experience of time is ſo much repented of. Thus it was with me, at that ſeaſon; but notwithſtanding what I had, or might ſuffer upon theſe occaſions, the thoughts of my deliverance ran ſo ſtrongly in my mind, as ſeemed to check all the dictates of my poor reaſon and philoſophy. And now to uſher my kind reader, with greater pleaſure to the remaining part of my relations, I flatter myſelf it will not be taken amiſs to give him

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an account of my firſt conceptions on the manner of eſcaping, and upon what foundation I laid out my fooliſh ſchemes.

I muſt now ſuppoſe myſelf retired to my caſtle, after my late voyage to the ſhip, my frigate laid up and ſecured, as uſual, and my condition in the ſame manner as before, except being richer; though I had as little occaſion for riches as the *Indians* of *Peru* had for gold, before the cruel *Spaniards* came among them. One night in *March*, being the rainy ſeaſon, in the four and twentieth year of this my ſolitude, I was lying on my bed awake, very well in health, without diſtemper, pain, or uncommon uneaſineſs, either of body or mind; yet for all this, I could not compoſe myſelf to ſleep the night long. All this tedious while, it is impoſſible to expreſs what innumerable thoughts came into my head: I traced quite over the whole hiſtory of my life in miniature, from my utmoſt remembrance of things, till I came to this iſland; and then proceeded to examine every action and paſſage that had occurred, ſince I had taken poſſeſſion of my kingdom. In my reflections upon the latter I was comparing my happy poſture of affairs in the beginning of my reign, to this life of anxiety, fear and concern, ſince I diſcovered the print of a foot in the ſand; that while I continued free without notions, I was capable of forming any dreadful apprehenſions; though I ought rather to be thankful for the knowledge of my danger, ſince then it was the greateſt happineſs to have ſufficient time to provide for my reflection: How ſtupendous is the goodneſs of providence, which ſets ſuch narrow bounds to the ſight and knowledge of human nature, that while men walk in the midſt of ſo many dangers that ſurround them, till perhaps they are diſſipated and vaniſhed quite away.

And when I came more particularly to conſider of the real danger I had for ſo many years eſcaped; how I had walked about in the greateſt ſecurity and tranquillity at a time, perhaps when even nothing but the brow of a hill, a great tree, or the common approach of night, had only interpoſed between me and the deſtructive hands of the cannibals, who would devour me with as good an appetite as I would a pigeon or curlew. Surely all this, I ſay, could not but make me ſincerely thankful to my great preſerver, whoſe ſingular protection I acknowledged with the greateſt humility, and without which I muſt inevitably have fallen into the cruel hands of theſe devourers.

Thus having diſcuſſed theſe thoughts in the cleareſt manner according to my weak underſtanding, I next proceeded to conſider the wretched nature of theſe deſtroying ſavages, by ſeeming, though with great reverence, to inquire why God ſhould give up any of his creatures to ſuch inhumanity, even to brutality itſelf, to devour its own kind? But as this was rather matter of abſtruſe ſpeculation, it better became me to enquire,

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what part of the world these wretches lived in; how far off the coast was from whence they came; why they ventured over so far from home; what kind of boats conveyed them hither; and why I could not order myself, and my business so, that I might be as able to attain their country, as they were to come to my kingdom.

Never had I the least thoughts how I should manage myself when I should go thither; what would become of me if I fell into the hands of the savages; or how I should escape from them if they made an attempt upon me. And supposing I should fall into their power, what could I do for provision, or which way should I bend my course? Now though these things did express the greatest horrour and confusion imaginable, yet still I looked upon my present condition the most miserable that possibly could be, and that nothing could be worse except death. For (thought I) could I but attain the shore of the main, I might perhaps meet with some relief, or coast it along, as I did with my boy *Xury*, on the *African* shore, till I came to some inhabited country, where I might meet with some relief, or fall in with some christian ship that might take me in; and if I failed, why then I could but meet with death, which would put an end to all my miseries. But yet I must here note, that all this was the fruit of a distempered mind; an impatient temper, made desperate, as it were, by long continuance of the troubles and the disappointments I had met with in the wreck, where I hoped to have found some living person to speak to, by whom I might have known in what place I was, and of the probable means of my deliverance. Thus, while my thoughts were agitated, my resignation to the will of heaven was entirely suspended; so that I had no power to fix my mind to any thing but the project of a voyage to the main. And indeed so much was I inflamed upon this account, that it set my blood into a ferment, and my pulse beat high as though I had been in a fever; till nature being, as it were, fatigued and exhausted with the very thoughts of it, made me submit myself to a silent repose.

Certainly it is very strange, that I did not dream of what I was so intent upon; but instead of which, my mind roved on a quite different thing, altogether foreign to it. I dreamt, that as I was issuing from my castle one morning, as customary, I perceived upon the shore two canoes, and eleven savages coming to land, who had brought with them another *Indian*, whom they designed to make a sacrifice of, in order to devour: But just as they were going to give the fatal blow, methought the poor designed victim jumpt away, and ran directly into a little thick grove before my fortification, to abscond from his enemies; when, perceiving that the others did not follow him that way, I appeared to him; that he humbly kneel'd down

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before me, ſeeming to pray for my aſſiſtance; upon which I ſhewed him my ladder, made him aſcend, carried him to my cave, and he became my ſervant; and when I had gotten this man, I ſaid to myſelf, now ſurely I may have ſome hopes to attain the main land; for this fellow will ſerve me as a pilot, tell me what to do, and where I muſt go for proviſions; what places to ſhun, what to venture to, and what to eſcape. But when I awak'd, and found all theſe inexpreſſible impreſſions of joy entirely vaniſhed, I fell into the greateſt dejection of ſpirits imaginable.

Yet, after all, I made this concluſion, that my only way of eſcaping was to get a ſavage; and after I had ventur'd my life to deliver him from the bloody jaws of his devourers, the natural ſenſe he might have of ſuch a preſervation, might inſpire him with a laſting gratitude and moſt ſincere affection. But then this objection reaſonably interpos'd: How can I effect this (thought I) without I attack a whole caravan of them, and kill them all? Why ſhould I proceed on ſuch a deſperate attempt, which my ſcruples had before ſuggeſted to me were unlawful, and made my heart tremble at the thoughts of ſo much blood, though it were a means to procure my deliverance! And though I might, according to my reaſon, ſuppoſe that theſe men were the real enemies to my life, and would devour me, were it in their power, ſo that it was ſelf preſervation in the higheſt degree, to free myſelf from this dread of death, by acting in my own defence, as if they were actually aſſaulting me: Though all theſe things, I ſay, ſeemed to me to be of the greateſt weight; yet, as I juſt ſaid before, the dreadful thoughts of ſhedding human blood, ſtruck ſuch a terrour to my ſoul, that it was a long time before I could reconcile myſelf to it.

But how far will the ardency of deſire prompt us on? For notwithſtanding the many diſputes and perplexities I had with myſelf about it; right or wrong, I was reſolved to get one of theſe ſavages into my hands, let it coſt what it would, or loſe my life in the attempt. Thus inſpired with a firm reſolution, all my wits were at work, in the next place, to find out what methods I ſhould take to anſwer my deſign; and this indeed was very difficult to reſolve on. Since then I could not pitch upon any probable means for it, I reſolved continually to be in a vigilant poſture, to perceive when the ſavages came on ſhore, and ſo leave the reſt to the event, let the opportunities offer as they would.

Such was my fixed reſolution, and accordingly I ſet myſelf upon the ſcout as often as I could, till ſuch time as I was heartily tired of it. I waited for above a year and a half, the greateſt part of which time I went out to the weſt end, and ſouth weſt corner of the iſland, almoſt every day, to ſee for canoes, bnt none appeared. This was a very great diſcouragement,

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at which I was very much concerned; yet never did this wear off the edge of my defire to the thing; but the longer it feemed to be delayed, the more eager I was for it: In a word, I was never at firft fo careful to fhun the loathed fight of thefe favages, as I was now eager to be upon them. Befides, I thought myfelf fufficiently able to manage one, two or three favages if I had them, fo as to make them my entire flaves, to do whatfoever I fhould direct them, and prevent their being able at any time of doing me a mifchief. Many a time did I ufe to pleafe myfelf with this affair, with long and ardent expectations, but nothing yet prefented; all my deep projected fchemes and numerous fancies vanifhed away, as though, while I retained thefe thoughts, the decree of providence was fuch, that no favages were to come near me.

It was about a year and a half, that as I was moft feriouffy mufing of fundry ways how I fhould attain my end, one morning early I was very much furprifed by feeing no lefs than five canoes all on fhore together, on my fide the ifland, and the creatures that belonged to them all landed, and out of my fight. Such a number of them difconcerted all my meafures; for feeing fo many boats, each of which would contain fix, and fometimes more, I could not tell what to think of it, or how to order my meafures, to attack twenty or thirty men fingle handed: Upon which, much difcomforted and perplexed, I lay ftill in my caftle; however I put myfelf in the fame pofture for an attack, that I had formerly provided againft, and was ready to enter upon an engagement, fhould they attempt it. But when I had waited a long while, till fuch time as my impatient temper would let me bear it no longer, I fet my guns at the foot of my ladder, and as ufual afcended up to the top of the hill at two ftages; however, ftanding that my head did not appear above the hill fo that by any means they could not perceive me; and here I obferved, by the affiftance of my perfpective glafs, no lefs than thirty in number around a fire, feafting upon what meat they had dreffed: How they cooked it, or what it was, I could not then perfectly tell; but they were all dancing and capering about the flames, ufing many frightful and barbarous geftures.

But while with a curious eye I was beholding thefe wretches, my fpirits funk within me, when I perceived them drag two miferable creatures from the boats to act afrefh the dreadful tragedy, as I fuppofed they had done before. It was not long before one of them fell upon the ground, knocked down, as I fuppofed, with a club, or wooden fword; for that was their manner, while two or three others went immediately to work, cutting him open for their cookery, and then fell to devour him as they had done the former, while the laft unhappy captive, was left by himfelf till fuch time as they were ready for him.

him. The poor creature looked round him with a wishful eye, trembling at the thoughts of death, yet seeing himself a little at liberty, nature that very moment as it were inspired him with hopes of life, that he started away from them, and ran with incredible swiftness along the sands directly to that part of the coast where my ancient and venerable castle stood.

You may imagine I was dreadfully affrighted upon this occasion, when as I thought, they pursued him in a whole body, all runing towards my palace. And now indeed I expected that part of my dream was going to be fulfilled, and that he would certainly fly to my grove for protection; but for the rest of my dream I could depend nothing on it, that the savages would pursue him thither and find him there. However my spirits beginning to recover, I still kept upon my guard, when I plainly perceived there were but three men out of the number, that pursued him; and I was infinitely pleased with what swiftness the poor creature ran from his pursuers, gaining much ground of them, that I plainly perceived, could he thus hold it for half an hour, there was not the least doubt but he would save his life from the power of his enemies.

Between them and my castle there was a creek, that very same where I sailed into with all my effects from the wreck of the ship, on the steep banks of which I very much feared the poor victim would be taken, if he could not swim for his escape: But I was soon out of pain for him when he made nothing of it though at full tide; but with an intrepid courage, spurred on by the sense of danger, he plunged into the flood, swimming over in about thirty strokes, and then landing, ran with the same wonderful strength and swiftness as before. When the three pursuers came to the creek, one of them, whom I perceived could not swim, happily for his part, returned back to his company; while the others with as equal courage, but much less swiftness, attained the other side, as though they were resolved never to give over their pursuit. And now, or never, I thought was the time for me to procure a servant, companion or assistant; and that I was decreed by providence to be the instrument that should save this poor creature's life. I immediately descended my two ladders with the greatest expedition, took up my two guns, which I said before were at the bottom of them; and getting up again, with the same haste towards the hill, I made nearer the sea: In a word, taking a short cut down the hill, I interposed between the pursuers and the pursued, hallooing aloud to the latter, who venturing to look back, was no doubt at first as much terrified at me as them. I beckoned to him with my hand to return back, in the mean time slowly advancing towards the pursuers; when suddenly rushing on the foremost, I knocked him down with the stock of my piece, and laid him

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flat on the ground. I was very unwilling to fire left the reft fhould hear, though at that diftance I queftion whether they could or not; and being out of fight of the fmoke, they could not eafily have known what to make of it. The other favage feeing his fellow fall, flopt as if he had been amazed, when advancing towards him, I could perceive him take his bow from his back, and fixing an arrow to it, was preparing to fhoot at me, and without difpute might have lodged the arrow in my breaft, had I given him leave; but in this abfolutely neceffary caufe of felf prefervation, I immediately fired at him, and fhot him dead, juft as his hand was going to draw the fatal ftring. All this while the favage who had fled before, ftood ftill, had the fatisfaction to fee his enemies fall, or killed as he thought, who defigned to take away his life: So affrighted was he with the fire and noife of my piece, that he ftood as it were, like *Lot's* wife, fixt, and immoveable, without fenfe, and without motion. This made me halloo to him again, making the plaineft figns I could to him to draw nearer: I perceived he underftood thefe tokens, by his approaching to me a little way, when, as if afraid I fhould kill him too, he ftopt again. Several times did he advance, and as often ftopt in this manner, till coming more to my view, I perceived him trembling, as if he was to undergo the fame fate. Upon which I looked upon him with a fmiling countenance, and ftill beckoning to him, at length he came clofe to me, kneeled down, kiffed the ground, laid his head upon it, and taking me by my foot, fet the fame upon his head: And this, as I underftood afterwards, was a token of fwearing to be my flave forever. I took him up, and making very much of him, encouraged him in the beft manner I could. But here my work was not yet finifhed; for I perceived the favage whom I knocked down, was not killed, but ftunned with the blow, and began to come to himfelf. Upon which I pointed to my new fervant, and fhewing him that his enemy was not yet expired, he fpoke fome words to me, but what I could not underftand; yet being the firft found of a man's voice I had heard for above thefe twenty five years, they were very pleafing to me. But there was no time for reflection now, the wounded favage recovering himfelf fo far as to fit upon the ground, which made my poor prifoner as much afraid as before: To put him out of which fear I prefented my other gun at the man, with an intent to fhoot him; but my favage, for fo I muft now call him, prevented my firing, by making a motion to me to lend him my fword, which hung naked in a belt by my fide. No fooner did I grant his requeft, but away he runs to his enemy, and at one blow cut off his head, as dexterouffy as the moft accomplifhed executioner in *Germany* could have done: For it feems thefe creatures make ufe of wooden fwords, made of hard wood, which will bear an

edge, enough to cut off heads and arms at one blow. When this valorous exploit was done, he came to me laughing, and as a token of triumph, delivered me my ſword again with abundance of ſurprizing geſtures, laying it along with the bleeding and ghaſtly head of the *Indian* at my feet.

The greateſt aſtoniſhment that my new ſervant conceived, was the manner of killing the ſavage at ſuch a diſtance without a bow and arrow: And ſuch was his longing deſire to know it, that he firſt pointed to the dead creature, and then made ſigns to me to grant him leave to go to him. Upon which I bid him go, and as well as I could made him ſenſible I granted his requeſt. But when he came there, how wonderfully was he ſtricken with amazement! firſt he turned him on one ſide, then on the other, wondering he could perceive no quantity of blood, he bleeding inwardly: And after ſufficiently admiring the wound the bullet had made in his breaſt, he took up his bow and arrows, and came back again; upon which I turned to go away, making many ſigns to him to follow, leaſt the reſt, miſſing their companions, might come in purſuit of him. And this I found he underſtood very well, by his making me underſtand that his deſign was to bury them, that it might not be ſeen if it happened; and which by ſigns again, I made him ſenſible I very much approved of. Immediately he fell to work, and never was grave digger more dexterous in the world than he was; for in an inſtant, as I might ſay, he ſcraped a large hole in the ſand with his hands, ſufficient to bury the firſt in, there he dragged him, and without any ceremony covered him over. In like manner he ſerved the other: So that I am ſure no undertaker could be more expert in his buſineſs, for all this was done in leſs than a quarter of an hour. I then called him away, and inſtead of carrying him directly to my caſtle at firſt, I conveyed him to my cave on the further part of the iſland: And ſo my dream was not fulfilled in that particular, that my grove ſhould prove an aſylum or ſanctuary to him.

Weary and faint, hungry and thirſty, undoubtedly muſt this poor creature be, ſupported chiefly by that vivacity of ſpirit, and uncommon tranſports of joy, that his deliverance occaſioned. Here I gave him bread, and a bunch of raiſins to eat, and water to drink, of which feeding very cheerfully, to his exceeding refreſhment, I made him a convenient bed with a parcel of rice ſtraw, and a blanket upon it, (a bed which I uſed myſelf ſometimes) and then pointing to him made ſigns for him to lie down to ſleep, upon which the poor creature went to take a welcome repoſe.

Indeed he was a very comely handſome young fellow, extremely well made, with ſtrait long limbs, not too large; tall, and well ſhaped; and, as I could reckon, about twenty ſix years of age. His countenance had nothing in it fierce and

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ſurly, but rather a ſort of majeſty in his face; and yet, eſpecially when he ſmiled, he had all the ſweetneſs and ſoftneſs of an *European*. His hair was not curled like wool, as many of the blacks are, but long and black, with the moſt beautiful, yet careleſs treſſes ſpreading over his ſhoulders. He had a very high and large forehead, with a great vivacity and ſparkling ſharpneſs in his eyes. His ſkin was not ſo tawny as the *Virginians*, *Braſilians*, or other *Americans*, but rather of a bright dun olive colour, that had ſomething agreeable in it, though not very eaſy to give a deſcription of. His face was round and plump, with a ſmall noſe, very different from the flatneſs of the negroes, a pretty ſmall mouth, thin lips, fine teeth, very well ſet, and white as the driven ſnow. In a word, ſuch handſome features, and exact ſymmetry in every part, made me conſider that I had ſaved the life of an *Indian* prince, no leſs graceful and accompliſhed, than the great *Oroonoko*, whoſe memorable behaviour, and unhappy contingencies of life, has charmed the world both to admiration of his perſon and compaſſion to his ſufferings.

But let him be either prince or peaſant all my happineſs centered in this, that I had now got a good ſervant, or companion, to whom, as he deſerved, I was reſolved to prove a kind maſter, and laſting friend. He had not, I think, ſlept above an hour, but he awakened again, and while I was milking my goats hard by, out he ran from the cave, towards me in my encloſure, and laying himſelf down on the ground in the loweſt proſtration, made all the antic geſtures imaginable, to expreſs his thankfulneſs to me for being his deliverer. I confeſs, though the manner of his behaviour ſeemed to be ludicrous enough to occaſion laughter; yet I was very much moved at his affection, ſo that my heart melted within me, fearing he might die away in exceſs of joy, like reprieved malefactors; and then I was incapable either to let him blood, or adminiſter phyſic. And I wiſh many chriſtians would take example by this heathen, to have a laſting remembrance of thoſe great benefits and deliverances they have received, by the kind mediation and powerful interpoſition of their benefactors and deliverers: And I ſhould be glad alſo, if I had no occaſion to blame many, who instead of thankfully acknowledging theſe kind of favours and benefits, rather abuſe and contemn thoſe good perſons who have been the principal inſtruments to ſave them from deſtruction.

But leaving theſe very juſt reflections, I muſt return to the object that occaſioned them: For my man, to conclude the laſt ceremony of obedience, laid down his head again on the ground, cloſe to my foot, and ſet my other foot upon his head, as he had done before, making all the ſigns of ſubjection, ſervitude and ſubmiſſion imaginable, to let me underſtand he

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would ſerve me as long as his life endured. As I underſtood him in many things, I made him ſenſible I was very well pleaſed with him; and in a little time I began to ſpeak to him, and learn him how to talk to me again. In the firſt place I made him to underſtand his name to be *Friday*, becauſe it was upon that day I ſaved his life. Then I taught him to ſay *Maſter*, which I made him ſenſible was to be my name. I likewiſe learned him to ſay yes and no, and to know what they meant. I gave him ſome milk in an earthen pot, making him view me while I drank it before him; and ſoped my bread in it; and I gave him a cake of bread, cauſing him to do the like, to which he readily conſented, making ſigns of the greateſt ſatisfaction imaginable.

All that night did I keep him there, but no ſooner did the morning light appear, when I ordered him to ariſe and come along with me, with certain tokens that I would give him ſome clothes like mine; at which he ſeemed very glad, as being ſtark naked, not ſo much as any thing to cover what ought to be concealed. As we paſſed by the place where the two men had been interred, my man pointed directly to their graves, ſhewing me the marks that he had made to find them again; giving me to underſtand by ſigns, that he ſhould dig them up and devour them: Upon which I appeared extremely diſpleaſed, expreſſed my utmoſt abhorrence, made as if I would vomit at the apprehenſions of it, beckoning him with my hand to come away, which he did with the greateſt reverence and ſubmiſſion. After this I conducted him to the top of the hill, to view if the reſt of the ſavages were yet remaining there; but when I looked through my perſpective glaſs, I could ſee no appearance of them, nor of their canoes, ſo that it was very evident they never minded their deceaſed companions whom he had ſlain, which if they had, they would ſurely have ſearched for, or left one boat behind for them to follow, after they returned to their purſuit.

But ſtill my curioſity and deſire of ſatisfaction animating my ſpirit with freſh courage, I took my man *Friday* with me, putting a ſword into his hand, with the bow and arrows at his back, which I perceived he could uſe very dexterouſly, cauſing him to carry one gun for me, and I two for myſelf; and thus equipped againſt all attacks, away we marched directly to the place of their bloody entertainment. But when I came there, I was ſtricken with the uſual horrour at ſo dreadful a ſpectacle; whilſt *Friday* indeed was no way concerned about it; being, no doubt, in his turn, like one of theſe devourers. Here lay ſeveral human bones, there ſeveral pieces of mangled fleſh, half-eaten, mangled and ſcorched; whilſt ſtreams of blood ran promiſcuouſly as water from a fountain. As I was muſing at this dreadful ſight, *Friday* took all the pains he could, by

particular

particular ſigns, to make me underſtand, that they had brought over four priſoners to feaſt upon, three of which they had eaten, and that as he was the fourth, pointing to himſelf: That there had been a bloody battle between them and his great king, in the juſt defence of whom he was taken priſoner, with many others; all which were carried to ſeveral places to be devoured by theſe conquerors, and that it was his fortune to be brought hither by theſe wretches, for the ſame purpoſe.

After I was made ſenſible of theſe things, I cauſed *Friday* to gather thoſe horrid remains, and lay them together upon a heap, which I ordered to be ſet on fire and ſo burnt them to aſhes: And ſtill I found my man retained the nature of a cannibal, having a hankering ſtomach after ſome of the fleſh: But ſuch an extreme abhorrence did I expreſs at the laſt appearance of it, that he durſt no otherwiſe than conceal; for I made him very ſenſible that if he offered any ſuch thing I would certainly ſhoot him.

All this being done, I carried my man with me to my caſtle; and then I gave him a pair of linen drawers, which I had taken out of the poor gunner's cheſt before mentioned; and which with a little alteration fitted him very well: In the next place I made him a jerkin of goat's ſkin, ſuch as my ſkill was able to manage, though I thought myſelf then a tolerable good taylor. I gave him alſo a cap, which I made of a hare's ſkin, very convenient and faſhionable. Thus being clothed tolerably well, my man was no leſs proud of his habit, than I was in ſeeing him in it. Indeed he went very aukwardly in theſe things at firſt, the drawers being too heavy on his thighs, not uſed to wear any weight, and the ſleeves of the waiſtcoat galled his ſhoulders, and the inſide of his arms; but a little eaſing them, where he complained they hurt him, and uſing himſelf to them, at length he took to them very well.

My next concern was where I ſhould lodge him; and that I might do very well by him, and yet be perfectly eaſy myſelf, I erected a tent for him in the vacant place between my two fortifications, in the inſide of the laſt, and outſide of the firſt: And as there was an entrance or door in my cave, I made a formal framed door-caſe, and a door to open on the inſide. I barred it up in the night time, taking in my ladders too; ſo that was my man to prove treacherous, there would be no way to come at me in the inſide of my innermoſt wall, without making ſo much noiſe in getting over, that it muſt needs waken me; for my firſt wall had now a complete roof over it of long poles, ſpreading over my tent, and leaning up to the ſide of the mountain, which was again laid acroſs with ſmaller ſticks inſtead of laths, thatched over a great thickneſs with the rice ſtraw, which was as ſtrong as reeds; and at the hole of the place, left on purpoſe to go in or out by the ladder, I had

placed

placed a kind of trap door, which if it had been attempted on the outside, would not have opened at all, but have fallen down and made a great noise; and as to my weapons, every night I took them all to my bed side.

But there was no occasion for this precaution; for surely never master had more sincere, faithful and loving servant than *Friday* proved to me; without passion, sullenness or design, perfectly obliging and engaging: His affections were as much tied to me, as those of a child to his parents; and I might venture to say, he would have sacrificed his life for the saving of mine, upon any occasion whatsoever. And indeed the many testimonies he gave me of this, very sufficiently convinced me, that I had no occasion to use these precautions. And here I could not but reflect, with great wonder, that however it has pleased the Almighty in his Providence, and in the government of the creation, to take from so great a part of the world of his creatures, the noblest uses to which their faculties, and the powers of their souls are adapted; yet that he has bestowed upon them the same reason, affections, sentiments of kindness and obligation, passions of resentment, sincerity, fidelity, and all the capacities of doing and receiving good, that he has given us; and that when he is graciously pleased to offer them occasions of exerting these, they are as ready, nay, more ready to apply them to the proper uses for which they were bestowed, than we are sometimes. These thoughts would make me very melancholy, especially when I considered how mean a use we make of all these, even though we have these powers enlightened by the holy spirit of God, and by the knowledge of his word, as an addition to our understanding; and why it has pleased the heavenly wisdom to conceal the like saving knowledge from so many millions of souls, who would certainly make a much better use of it, than mankind generally do at this time. And these reflections would sometimes lead me so far, as to invade the sovereignty of Providence, and, as it were arraign the justice of such arbitrary disposition of things, that should obscure that light from some, and reveal it to others, and yet expect a like duty from all. But I closed it up, checking my thoughts with this conclusion: *First*, that we were ignorant of that right and law by which these should be condemned; but that, as the Almighty was necessarily, and by the nature of his essence, infinitely just and holy; so it could not be otherwise, but that if these creatures were all destined to absence from himself, it was on account of sinning against that light which, as the scripture says, was a law to themselves, and by such rules as their conscience would acknowledge to be just, though the first foundation was not discovered to us; and, *secondly*, that still as we are the

clay

clay in the hand of the potter, no veſſel could thus ſay to him, Why haſt thou faſhioned me after this manner.

I had not been above two or three days returned to my caſtle, but my chief deſign was, how I ſhould bring *Friday* off from his horrid way of feeding; and to take from him that inhuman reliſh he, by nature, had been accuſtomed to, I thought it my duty to let him taſte other fleſh, which might the rather tempt him to the ſame abhorrence I ſo often expreſſed againſt their accurſed way of living. Upon which, one morning, I took him out with me, with an intention to kill a kid out of the flock, and bring it home and dreſs it: But as I was going, I perceived a ſhe goat lying down in the ſhade, and two young kids ſitting by her. Immediately I catched hold of my man *Friday* and bidding him ſtand ſtill, and not ſtir, I preſented my piece, and ſhot one of the kids. My poor ſervant, who had at a diſtance perceived me kill his adverſary, and yet did not know by what means, or how it was done, ſtood trembling and ſurprized, and looked ſo amazed, that I thought he would have ſunk into the earth. He did not ſee the kid I aimed at, or beheld I had killed it, but ript up his waiſtcoat to ſee if he was not wounded, thinking my reſolution was to kill him; ſo coming to me, he fell on his knees, earneſtly pronouncing many things which I did not underſtand, the meaning of which at length I perceived was, that I would not take away his life.

Indeed I was much concerned to ſee him in that condition where nature is upon the ſevereſt trial, when the immediate hand of death is ready to put for ever a period to this mortal life: And indeed ſo much compaſſion had I for this creature, that it was with difficulty I refrained from tears. But, however, as another ſort of countenance was neceſſary, to convince him that I would do him no harm, I, ſmiling, took him by the hand, then laughed at him, and pointing to the kid which I had ſlain, made ſigns to him to fetch it, which accordingly he did. He was no leſs curious in viewing how the creature was killed, than he had been before in beholding the *Indian*; while he was admiring it, I charged my gun again, and preſently perceived a great fowl like a hawk, perching upon a tree within ſhot; and therefore, to let *Friday* underſtand what I was going to do, I called him to me again, pointing at the fowl, which I found to be a parrot. I made him underſtand that I would ſhoot and kill that bird; accordingly I fired, and bad him look, when immediately he ſaw the parrot fall down. Again he ſtood like one amazed, notwithſtanding all I had ſaid to him; and the more confounded he was, becauſe he did not perceive me put any thing into my gun. Undoubtedly, a thing ſo utterly ſtrange, carrying death along with it, far or near, either to man or beaſt, muſt certainly create the greateſt aſtoniſhment to one who had never heard of ſuch

a thing

a thing in his whole life: And really his amazement continued ſo long, that, had I allowed it, he would have proſtrated himſelf before me and my gun, with the greateſt worſhip and and adoration. As for the gun in particular, he would not ſo much as ſuffer his fingers to touch it for ſeveral days after; but would come and communicate his thoughts to it, and talk to it, as if the ſenſeleſs piece had underſtood and anſwered him: All this I could perceive him do, when he thought my back was turned; the chief intent of which was, to deſire it not to kill him, as I afterwards came to underſtand.

I never ſtrove to prevent his admiration nor hinder him from thoſe comical geſtures he uſed on ſuch occaſions: But when his aſtoniſhment was a little over, I made tokens to him to run and fetch the parrot that I had ſhot, which he accordingly did, ſtaying ſome time longer than uſual, by reaſon the bird, not being quite dead, had fluttered ſome way farther from the place where he fell. In the mean time as he was looking for her, I took the advantage of charging my gun again, that I might be ready for another mark that might offer itſelf; but nothing more occurred at that time. So I brought home the kid, and the ſame evening took off the ſkin, and divided the carcaſe as well as I could. Part of this fleſh I ſtewed, or boiled, in a pot I had for this occaſion. And then ſpreading my table, I ſat down, giving my man ſome to eat too, who was wonderfully pleaſed, and ſeemed to like it very well, but what was moſt ſurpriſing to him, was to ſee me eat ſalt with it: Upon which he made me to underſtand, that the ſalt was very bad for me; when putting a little into his mouth, he ſeemed to nauſeate it in ſuch a manner as to ſpit and ſputter at it, and then waſhed his mouth with freſh water: But to ſhew him how contrary his opinion was to mine, I put ſome meat in my mouth without ſalt, and feigned to ſpit and ſputter as much for want of it, as he had done at it: Yet all this proved of no ſignification to *Friday*: And it was a long while before he could endure ſalt in his meat or broth, and even then, but a very ſmall quantity.

Thus having fed him ſufficiently with boiled meat and broth that time, the next day I was reſolved to feaſt him with a roaſted piece of the kid. And having no ſpit to faſten it, nor jack to turn it, I make uſe of that common artifice, which many of the people of *England* have; that is, to ſet two poles upon each ſide of the fire, and one croſs on the top, hanging the meat thereon with a ſtring, and ſo turning round continually, roaſt it, as we read bloody tyrants have cruelly roaſted martyrs. This practice cauſed great admiration in my man *Friday*, which is another gueſs way, to what the barbarous ſavages were accuſtomed. But when he came to taſte the ſweetneſs and tenderneſs of the fleſh, he expreſſed his entire ſatisfaction

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in above a thouſand different ways. And, as I could not but underſtand his meaning, you may be ſure I was wonderfully pleaſed; eſpecially when he made it alſo very plain to me, that he would never whilſt he lived, eat man's fleſh more.

Well, now it was high time I ſhould ſet my ſervant to work; and ſo the next day I put him to beat out ſome corn, and ſift it in the ſame manner as I had done before. And really the fellow was very quick and handy in the execution of any thing I ordered him to go about. I made him underſtand that it was to make bread for us to eat, and after let him ſee me make and bake it: In ſhort, he did every thing as I ordered him, in a little time, as well as I could do it myſelf.

When I conſidered, that I had two mouths to feed inſtead of one, I was neceſſarily obliged to think, that, in conſequence thereof, I muſt provide more ground for my harveſt, and plant a larger quantity of corn than I commonly uſed to do; upon which I marked out a bigger piece of land, fencing it in the ſame manner as I had done before; in the execution of which I muſt give *Friday* this good word, that no man could work more hard or willingly than he did: And when I made him ſenſible that it was for bread to ſerve him as well as me, he then very paſſionately made me underſtand, that he thought I had much more labour on me on his account alone, than I had for myſelf; and that no pains or diligence ſhould be wanting in him, if I would but direct him in thoſe works wherein he might ſucceed.

I muſt certainly own, that this was the moſt pleaſant year I ever had in the iſland: For, after ſome time, *Friday* began to talk pretty well, and underſtand the names of thoſe things which I was wont to call for, and the places where I uſed to ſend him. So that my long ſilent tongue, which had been uſeleſs ſo many years, except in an exclamatory manner, either for deliverance or bleſſings, now began to be occupied, in teaching and talking to my man *Friday*; for indeed I had ſuch a ſingular ſatisfaction in the fellow himſelf, ſo innocent did his ſimple and unfeigned honeſty appear more and more to me every day, that I really began entirely to love the creature: And, for his part, I believe there was no love loſt, and that his nature had been more charmed with my exceeding kindneſs, and his affections more placed upon me, than upon any other object whatſoever among the *Barbarians*. But ſtill I had a great mind to try if he had any hankering inclination to return to his own country again: And by this time, having learned him *Engliſh* ſo well that he could give me tolerable anſwers to any queſtions which I demanded, I aſked him whether that nation, to which he belonged, never conquered in battle? This queſtion made *Friday* ſmile, and to which he anſwered, *yes, yes, we always fight the better*; as much as to ſay, they

always got the better in fight. Upon which we proceeded on the following discourse. You say, said I, that you always fight the better; why then, *Friday*, how came you to be taken prisoner?

Friday. But for all that my nation beat much.

Master. How, say you, beat! if your nation beat them, how came you to be taken?

Friday. They more many mans than my nation in the place where me was; they take one, two, three, and me: My nation much over beat them in the yonder place, where me no was; there my nation mans beat one, two, three great tousand.

Master. Then why did not your men recover you from the hands of your enemies?

Friday. They run, one, two, or three, and me; they make all go in the canoo; my nation have no canoo that time.

Master. It's very well, *Friday*: But what does your nation do with the prisoners they take? What do they carry them away, and eat them, as these have done?

Friday. Yes, yes, my nation eat mans too, eat up all.

Master. To what place do they carry them to be devoured?

Friday. Go to other nations where they think.

Master. Do they bring them hither?

Friday. Yes, come over hither, come over other place.

Master. And have you been with them here, *Friday*?

Friday. Yes, me been here: (pointing to the north west of the island, being the side where they used to land.)

Thus having got what account I could from my man, I plainly understood, that he had been as bad as any of the rest of the cannibals, having been formerly among the savages, who used to come on shore on the fartheſt part of the island, upon the same bloody occasions as he was brought here for: And some time after I carried him to that place where he pointed; and no sooner did he come there, but he presently knew the ground, signifying to me, that he was once there, when they ate up twenty men, two women, and a young child. But as he could not explain the number in *English*, he did it by so many stones in a row, making a sign to me to count them.

This passage I have the rather mentioned, because it led to things more important and useful for me to know: For after I had this satisfactory discourse with him, my next question was, how far it was from the island to the shore, and whether the canoes were not often lost in the ocean? to which he answered, there was no danger, no canoes ever lost; but that after a little way out to the sea, there was a strong current, and a wind always one way in the afternoon. This I thought at first to be no more than the sets of the tide, of going out, or coming in; but I afterwards understood it was occasioned by the

the great draught and reflux of the mighty river *Oroonoko*, in the mouth or gulph of which I imagined my kingdom lay; and that the land which I perceived to the W. and N. W. must be the great island *Trinidad*, on the north of the river. A thousand questions (if that would satisfy me) did I ask *Friday* about the nature of the country, the sea, the coasts, the inhabitants, and what nations were nearest them: To which questions, the poor fellow declared all he knew, with the greatest openness and utmost sincerity. When I demanded of him the particular names of the various nations of his sort of people, he could only answer me in general that they were called *Caribbee*. Hence it was I considered, that these must be the *Caribbees*, so much taken notice of by our maps to be on that part of *America*, which reaches from the mouth of the river *Oroonoko* to *Guiana*, and so on to *St. Martha*. Then *Friday* proceeded to tell me, that up a great way beyond the moon, as much as to say, beyond the setting of the moon, which must be W. from their country, there dwelt white bearded men, such as I was, pointing to my whiskers, and that they had killed much mans. I was not ignorant with what barbarity the *Spaniards* treated these creatures; so that I presently concluded it must be them, whose cruelties had spread throughout *America*, to be remembered even to succeeding generations.

Well, you may be sure, this knowledge, which the imperfect information of my man had let me to, was very comfortable to me, and made me so curious as to ask him, how I might depart from this island, and get among those white men? he told me, *yes, yes, I might go in two canoes*. In two canoes, thought I, what does my man mean? surely he means one for himself and another for me; and if not, how must two canoes hold me, without being joined, and then put one part of my body in one, and the other part in the other; and indeed it was a long while before I understood his meaning, which was, that it must be a large boat as big as two canoes, able to bear with the waves, and not so liable to be overset as a small one must have been.

I believe there is no state of life but what may be happy, if people would but endeavour for their part to make it so. He is not the happiest man that has the most riches, but he that is content with what he hath. Before I had my servant I thought myself miserable till I had him; and now I enjoyed the happy benefits of him, I retained the same thoughts for want of a deliverance from a place of retirement, ease and plenty, where providence had sufficiently blessed me: In a word, from this time I entertained some hopes, that one time or other I might find an opportunity to make my escape from this island, and that this poor savage might be a great furtherance thereto.

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All the time ſince my man became ſo intelligent as to underſtand and ſpeak to me, I ſpared no pains or diligence to inſtruct him, according to my poor ſhare of knowledge, in the principles of religion, and the adoration that he ought to pay to the true God. One time, as I very well remember, I aſked him who made him? at firſt, the innocent creature did not underſtand what I meant, but rather thought I aſked him, who was his father? upon which I took another way to make him ſenſible, by demanding of him an anſwer to this queſtion: *Friday*, (ſaid I) who is it that made the ſea, this ground whereon we walk, and all theſe hills and woods which we behold; and here indeed I did not miſs of my intention; for he told me it was one old *Benamuckee*, (the God whom I ſuppoſed theſe ſavages adored) who lived a great way beyond all. But as for his attributes, poor *Friday* was an utter ſtranger to them. He could deſcribe nothing of this great perſon; and all that he could ſay was, that he was very old, much older than the ſea and land, the moon, or the ſtars. *Friday*, (ſaid I again) if this great and old perſon has made all things in the world, how comes it to paſs, that all things, as me in particular, do not adore and worſhip him? upon this looking very grave, with a perfect ſweet look of innocence, he replied, *maſter, all things ſay O to him*, by which it may reaſonably be ſuppoſed he meant adoration. And where, ſaid I, do the people of your country go when they die? he anſwered, they all go to *Benamuckee*. What, and thoſe people that are eaten up, do they go there? Said he, Benamuckee *love them dearly*; *we pray to* Benamuckee *in de Canoo, and* Benamuckee *would love me, when dey eat a me all up*.

Such diſcourſes as theſe had I with my man, and ſuch as made me ſenſible, that the true God is worſhipped, though under imperfect ſimilitudes. And that the falſe adoration which the heathens give to their imaginary deity, is as great an argument of the divine eſſence, as the moſt learned atheiſts, *falſely ſo called*, can bring againſt it: For God will be glorified in his works, let the denomination be what it will; and I cannot be of that opinion which ſome conceive, that God ſhould decree men to be damned for want of a right notion of faith, in a place where the power of the Almighty has not permitted it to be preached; and therefore cannot but conclude, that ſince obedience is the beſt ſacrifice, theſe poor creatures, acting by that light and knowledge which they are poſſeſſed of, may undoubtedly obtain a happy ſalvation, though not that enjoyment with *Chriſt* as his ſaints, confeſſors and martyrs.

But leaving theſe determinations aſide, more fit for the ableſt divines than me to diſcuſs, I began to inſtruct my ſervant in the ſaving knowledge of the true Deity; in which, the directions of God's holy ſpirit aſſiſted me. I lifted up my hands to heaven,

heaven, and pointing thereto, told him, that the great Maker of heaven and earth lived there: That as his infinite power fashioned this world out of a confused *chaos*, and made it in that beautiful frame which we behold, so he governs and preserves it, by his undoubted knowledge, sovereign greatness, and peculiar providence: That he was omnipotent, could do every thing for us, give every thing to us, and take every thing away from us: That he was a rewarder and punisher of good and evil actions: That there was nothing but what he knew, no thoughts so secret but he could bring to light: And thus by degrees I opened his eyes, and described to him the manner of the creation of the world, the situation of paradise, the transgressions of our first parents, the wickedness of God's peculiar people, and the universal sins and abominations of the whole earth. When these things were implanted in his mind, I told him that as God's justice was equal to his mercy, he resolved to destroy this world, till his son, *Jesus Christ*, interposed in our behalf, and to procure our redemption, obtained leave of his heavenly Father to come down from heaven into the world, where he took human nature upon him, instructed us in our way to eternal life, and died as a sacrifice for our sins: That he was now ascended into heaven, mediating for our pardon, delivering our petitions, and obtaining all those benefits which we asked in his name, by humble and hearty prayers, which were heard in the throne of heaven. As very frequently I used to inculcate things into his mind, *Friday* one day told me that if our great God could hear us beyond the sun, he must then surely be a greater God than their *Benamuckee*, who lived but a little way, and yet could not hear them, till they ascended the great mountains, where he dwells, to speak to him. What, said I, *Friday*, did you go thither to speak to him too? he answered, no, they never went that were young men; none but old men, called their *Oowokakee*, meaning the *Indian* priests, who went to say O, (so he called saying their prayers) and they returned back, and told them what *Benamuckee* said. From hence I could not but observe how happy we Christians are, who have God's immediate revelation for our certain guide; and that our faith is neither missed, nor our reason imposed upon, by any set of men resembling these *Indian* impostors.

But to clear up this palpable cheat, to my man *Friday*, I told him, that the pretence of their ancient men going up to the mountains to say O to their god *Benamuckee*, was an impostor: And that their bringing back an answer was all a sham, if not worse; for if there was any such thing spoken to them sometimes, it must proceed from an infernal spirit. And here I thought it necessary to enter into a long discourse with him, which I did after this manner:

Friday, (ſaid I) you muſt know, that before this world was made, there was one Almighty Power, exiſtent before the beginning, by whoſe power all things were made, and whoſe majeſty ſhall have no end. To be glorified and adored by beings of a heavenly nature, he created angels and archangels, that is, glorious ſpirits reſembling himſelf, to encompaſs round his throne, eternally ſinging forth his praiſe in the moſt heavenly ſounds and divine harmony. And among this heavenly choir, *Lucifer* bore a great ſway, as being then one of the particular favourites of theſe celeſtial abodes: But he, contrary to that duty he owed his heavenly ſovereign, with unbounded ingratitude to his divine creator, not only envied him that adoration which was his due, but thought to uſurp that throne, which he had neither power to keep, nor title to pretend to. He raiſed a diſſention and civil war in heaven, and had a number of angels to take his part. Unbounded folly; ſtupendous pride; thus to hope for victory, and aſpire above his powerful Creator! the Deity, not fearful of ſuch an enemy, yet juſtly provoked at this rebellion, commiſſions his archangel *St. Michael* to lead forth the heavenly hoſt, and give him battle; the advantage of which was quickly perceived, by *Satan's* being overthrown; and the prince of the air, (for ſo the Devil was called) with all his fallen angels, driven headlong into a diſmal place, which is called hell.

The recital of this truth made my man give the greateſt attention, and he expreſſed a great ſatisfaction, by his geſtures, that God had ſent the devil into the deep hole. And then I deſired him to give great heed to what I had further ſo ſay.

No ſooner (proceeded I) was God freed from, and the heavens clear of this arch traitor, but the Father ſpeaks to the Son and Holy Spirit, who belonged to his eſſence, yet equal to him in power and glory, *Let us make man* (ſaid he) *in our own image, after our own likeneſs*, Gen. 1. 26. to have dominion over the creatures in the world which we have created. And theſe, he intended ſhould glorify him in heaven, according to their obedience in this ſtate of probation on earth, which was as it were to be the ſchool to train them up for thoſe heavenly manſions. Now Satan, ſeeing himſelf foiled, yet that God had not taken the power from him, as prince of the air, which power heaven deſigned he ſhould retain, whereby his creatures might be tried. In revenge of the diſgrace he had received, he tempts *Adam's* wife, *Eve*, to taſte of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, which God had forbidden. He appears to her in the ſhape of a ſerpent, being then a moſt beautiful creature, and tells her, that it was no better than an impoſition which God had put upon her and her huſband, not to eat of that fair fruit which he had created; that the taſte thereof would make them immortal, like God himſelf; and conſequently as great

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and powerful as he. Upon which, ſhe not only ate thereof herſelf, but made her huſband eat alſo, which brought them both under the heavenly diſpleaſure.

Here *Friday* expreſſed a great concern: *Ah! poor mans!* (cried he) *naughty Womans! naughty Devil! make God not love de mans, make man like Devil himſelf.*

Friday, ſaid I, God ſtill loves mankind; and though the Devil tempted human nature ſo far, he would not ſuffer him to have abſolute power over them. I have told you before of his tender love to his people, till they, like *Lucifer*, diſobeyed his commands and rebelled againſt him; and that even then, how Jeſus Chriſt his only ſon came to ſave ſinners. But ſtill every man that lives in the world, is under temptation and trial. The Devil has yet a power, as prince of the air, to ſuggeſt evil cogitations in our minds, and prompt us on to wicked actions, that he might glory in our deſtruction. Whatever evil thoughts we have, proceeded from him. So that God, in this our diſtreſs, expects that we ſhould apply ourſelves to him by fervent prayer for our ſpeedy redreſs: He is not like *Benamuckee*, to let none come near him but *Oowokakee*; but ſuffers the people as well as prieſts, to offer themſelves at his feet, thereby to be delivered from the power and temptation of the Devil.

But though at firſt, my man *Friday* expreſſed ſome concern at the wickedneſs of *Lucifer*, I found it not ſo eaſy to imprint the right notions of him in his mind, as it was about the divine eſſence of God: For there nature aſſiſted me in all my arguments to ſhew to him plainly the neceſſity of a great firſt cauſe, and overruling governing power, a ſecret directing providence, and of the equity and reaſonableneſs of paying adoration to our Creator: Whereas there appeared nothing of all this in the notion of an evil ſpirit, of his firſt beginning, his nature, and above all, of his inclination to evil actions, and his power to tempt us on to the like. And indeed this unlearned *Indian*, by the mere force of nature, puzzled me with one particular queſtion, contrary to whatever I had expected from him.

I had, it ſeems, one day, been talking to him of the omnipotent power of God, and his infinite abhorrence of ſin, inſomuch that the ſcriptures ſtiled him a *conſuming fire* to all ſinful workers of iniquity; and that it was in his power, whenever he pleaſed, to deſtroy all the world in a moment, the greater part of which are continually offending him.

When, with a ſerious attention, he had liſtened a great while to what I ſaid, after I had been telling him, how the Devil was God's enemy in the hearts of men, and uſed all his malice and ſkill to defeat the good deſigns of Providence, and to deſtroy the kingdom of *Chriſt* in the world, and ſo forth: Very

well,

well, master (said *Friday*) you say, God is so strong, so great, is he not much stronger, much mightier than the haughty Devil? to be sure, *Friday*, said I, God is more wise, and stronger than the serpent: He is above the Devil, which make us pray to him, that he would tread down Satan under our feet, enable us to resist his violent temptations, and quench his fiery darts. *Why then* answered *Friday*, quickly, *if God, as you say, has much strong, much might as the Devil, why God no kill Devil, make no more tempt, no more do wicked.*

You may be certain I was strangely surprised at this question of my man's; and though an old man, I was but a young doctor, and consequently very ill qualified for a casuist or a resolver of intricate doubts in religion. And as it is required some time for me to study for an answer, I pretended not to hear him, nor to ask him what he said: But too earnest was he for an answer, to forget his question, which he repeated in the very same broken words as above. When I had recovered myself a little, *Friday* (said I) *God will at last punish him severely, being reserved for judgment, and is to be cast into the bottomless pit to remain in fire everlasting.* But all this did not satisfy *Friday*, for returning upon me, he repeated my words, *reserve at last, me no understand; but why not kill Devil now, not kill Devil, great, great while ago? Friday*, said, you may as well ask me why God does not kill you and I, when by our wicked actions, we so much offend his divine majesty? he gives us time to repent of our sins, that thereby we my obtain pardon. At these words, *obtain pardon, Friday* mused a great while, and at last, looking me stedfastly in the face: *Well, well*, said he, *that's very well; so you, I, Devil, all wicked mans, all preserve, repent, God pardon all.*

Indeed here I was run down to the last extremity, when it became very evident to me, how mere natural notions will guide reasonable creatures to the knowledge of a deity, and to the homage due to the supreme being of God; but however, nothing but divine revelation can form the knowledge of *Jesus Christ*, and a redemption purchased for us, of a mediator of the new covenant, and of an intercessor at the footstool of God's throne; and therefore the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ*, that is, the word and spirit of God, promised for the guide and sanctifier of people, are the most necessary instructors of the souls of men in the saving knowledge of the Almighty, and the means to attain eternal happiness.

And now I found it necessary to put an end to the discourse between my man and me, for which purpose I rose up hastily, and made as if I had some occasion to go out, sending *Friday* for something that was a good way off. I then fell on my knees, and beseeched God that he would inspire me so far, as to guide this poor savage in the knowledge of *Christ*, to answer

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his queſtions more clearly, that his conſcience might be convinced, his eyes opened and his ſoul ſaved. When he returned again, I entered into a very long diſcourſe with him, upon the ſubject of the world's redemption by the Saviour of the world, and the doctrine of repentance preached from heaven, together with an holy faith in our bleſſed redeemer *Jeſus Chriſt*: And then I proceeded to explain to him, according to my weak capacity, the reaſon why our Saviour took not on him the nature of Angels, but rather the ſeed of *Abraham*; and how upon that account the fallen Angels had no benefit by the redemption; and laſtly, that he came only to the loſt ſheep of the houſe of *Iſrael*, and the like. God knows, I had more ſincerity than knowledge in all the ways I took for this poor *Indian*'s inſtruction; and I muſt acknowledge, that I believe every body that acts upon the ſame principle will find, that in laying heavenly truths open before him, in many things, I informed and inſtructed myſelf, that either I did not know, or had not perfectly conſidered of before? But as I ſearched into them for the information of this poor ſavage, ſo they naturally occurred to my mind; and my enquiry after many things was more affectionate than ever I felt in my life: ſo that however this poor creature might be improved by my inſtruction, certain it is, that upon this account I had great reaſon to bleſs kind providence for ſending him to me. His company allayed my grief, and made my habitation more comfortable: And when I reflected that this ſolitary life, to which I had been ſo long confined, had not only moved me to look towards Heaven, but made me the inſtrument, under providence to ſave the life, and, for aught I knew, the ſoul of a poor ſavage, by bringing him to the knowledge of Jeſus Chriſt; this cauſed a ſecret joy to ſpread through every part of my ſoul, and I frequently rejoiced that ever I was brought to this place, which I once thought to be the moſt miſerable part of the world.

All the remainder of my time did I continue in this thankful frame of mind, and for three years did my man and I live in the greateſt enjoyment and happineſs, by our converſation one with another, as much as I could expect or deſire. And indeed I believe the ſavage was as good a chriſtian as I; though I hope we were equally penitent; and ſuch penitents that were comforted and reſtored by God's holy ſpirit: for now we had the word of the Lord to inſtruct us in the right way, and we were no farther off the aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt, than if we had been on the *Engliſh* ſhore.

By the conſtant applications I made of the ſcriptures, as I read them to my man *Friday*, I earneſtly endeavoured to make him underſtand every part of it, as much as lay in my power. He alſo on the other hand, by his very ſerious queſtions and

enquiries,

enquiries, made me a much better proficient in ſcripture knowledge than I ſhould have been by my own private reading and ſtudy. I muſt not omit another thing proceeding from the experience I had in my retirement; it was, that infinite and inexpreſſible bleſſing, the knowledge of God through *Chriſt Jeſus*, which was ſo plain and eaſy to be underſtood, as immediately to direct me to carry on the great work of ſincere repentance for my ſins, and laying hold of a Saviour for eternal life, to a practical ſtated reformation, and obedience to all God's inſtitutions, without the aſſiſtance of a reverend and orthodox divine; and eſpecially by this ſame inſtruction, ſo to enlighten this ſavage creature, as to make him ſuch a good chriſtian as very few could exceed him, and there was only this great thing wanting, that I had no authority to adminiſter the holy ſacrament, that heavenly participation of Chriſt's body and blood; yet however we reſted ourſelves content that God would accept our deſires, and, according to our faith, have mercy on us.

But what we wanted one way, was made up in another, and that was univerſal peace in our little church. We had no diſputes or wranglings about the nature of equality of the holy, bleſſed, and undivided Trinity; no niceties in doctrine, or ſchemes of church government; no ſour and moroſe diſſenters to impoſe more ſublimated notions upon us, nor pedantic ſophiſters, to confound us with unintelligible myſteries; but inſtead of all this, we enjoyed the moſt certain guide to heaven; that is, the Word of God, beſides which we had the comfortable views of His Spirit leading us unto the truth, and making us both willing and obedient to the inſtruction of his word. And as the knowledge and practice of which are the principal means of ſalvation, I cannot ſee what it can avail any Chriſtian church or man in the world, to amuſe themſelves with every indifferent ſpeculation and opinion, except thoſe who have a mind to diſplay their particular vanity and affectation.

You may well ſuppoſe that, by theſe common diſcourſes we had together, my man and I became moſt intimately acquainted, and that there was but very little that I could ſay, but *Friday* underſtood, ſpeaking very fluently, though indeed it was but broken Engliſh. And really I now took a particular pleaſure in relating all my adventures, eſpecially thoſe that occured ſince my being caſt on this iſland. I made him underſtand the wonderful myſtery, as he conceived of gunpowder and bullet, and taught him how to ſhoot: I alſo preſented him a knife, which pleaſed him exceedingly; making him a belt with a frog hanging thereto, like thoſe in which we wear hangers in England; and inſtead of a hanger to put in that frog, I gave him a hatchet which was not only as good, but a

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more excellent weapon upon any other occaſion. In a word, my man thus accoutred, looked upon himſelf as great as *Don Quixote*, when that celebrated champion went to combat the wind mill.

After all this, I gave him a very particular deſcription of the territories of *Europe*, and in a particular manner of *Old England*, the place of my nativity. I laid before him the manner of our worſhipping God, our behaviour to one another, and how we traded in ſhips to every part of the univerſe. I then told him my misfortunes in being ſhipwrecked, ſhowing him, as near as I could, the place where the ſhip lay, which had been gone long before. I brought him to the ruins of our boats, which, before, my whole ſtrength could not move, but now was almoſt rotten and fallen to pieces. I obſerved my man *Friday* to view this boat with an uncommon curioſity, which when he had done, he ſtood pondering a great while and ſaid nothing. At laſt, ſaid I, *Friday* what makes you ponder ſo much? he replyed, *O Maſter, me ſee like boat come to place at my nation.*

I was ſome time indeed before I underſtood what my man meant; but examining farther into it, I plainly found ſuch another boat reſembling that, had come to the country where he dwelt; as much as to ſay, by his farther explanation, that the boat was driven there through violent ſtorms and ſtreſs of weather. It preſently came into my mind, that ſome *European* ſhip having been caſt away, the poor diſtreſſed creatures were forced to have recourſe to the boat to ſave their lives; and being all, as I thought, drowned, I never concerned myſelf to aſk any thing about them, but my only enquiry was about the boat, and what deſcription my man could give of it.

Indeed *Friday* anſwered my demands very well, making every thing very plain to my underſtanding; but eſpecially I was ſatisfied when he told me, with a great warmth and ardour, *O Maſter, me ſave white man from drown:* Upon which I immediately aſked him, if there were any *white mans*, as he called them, in the boat? *yes yes*, ſaid he, *the boat full, very full, white mans.* How many, *Friday?* ſaid I. Hereupon he numbered his fingers and counted ſeventeen. And when I aſked him what became of them all, and whether they lived or not? he replied, *yes Maſter, they all live, they be live 'mong my nation.* This plainer information put new thoughts into my head, that theſe must be thoſe very men, which before I concluded had been ſwallowed up in the ocean after they had left their ſhip, that had ſtruck upon the rocks of my kingdom; and after eſcaping the fury of the deep, landed upon the wild ſhore, and committed themſelves to the fury of thoſe devouring *Indians*.

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The manner of their cruelties to one another, which conſequently, as I thought, muſt be acted with greater barbarity to ſtrangers, created a great admiration within me, and made me ſtill more curious to aſk *Friday* concerning them: He told me, he was ſure they lived ſtill there, having reſided among them above four years, and the ſavages gave them victuals to live upon. But pray, *Friday*, ſaid I, whence proceeded all this good nature and generoſity? How came it to paſs that they did not kill and eat them to pleaſe their devouring appetites, and occaſion ſo ſplendid an entertainment among them? *No no*, ſaid Friday, *they not kill 'em they make brother with 'em*; by which I underſtood, there was a truce between them. And then I had a more favourable opinion of the *Indians*, upon *Friday's* uttering theſe words; *my nation, t'other nation, no eat mans, but when mans make war fight*; as though he had ſaid, that neither thoſe of his kingdom, nor any other nation that he knew of, ever eat their fellow creatures, but ſuch whom their law of arms allowed to be devoured; and they were thoſe miſerable captives, whoſe great misfortune it ſhould be to be made priſoners of war.

Some conſiderable time after, upon a very pleaſant day, in moſt ſerene weather, my man and I ſtood upon the top of a hill, on the eaſt ſide of the iſland, whence I had once before beheld the continent of *America*. I could not tell immediately what was the matter, for ſuddenly *Friday* fell a jumping and dancing as if he had been mad; and upon my demanding the reaſon of his behaviour, *O joy!* ſaid he, *O glad! Thers ſee my country, there my nation, there live white mans all gether*. And indeed ſuch a rapturous ſenſe of pleaſure appeared in his countenance, that his eyes had an uncommon ſparkling and brightneſs, and ſuch a ſtrange eagerneſs, as if he had a longing deſire to be in his own country again; and this new obſervation which I had, made me not ſo well ſatisfied with my man *Friday* as before: for, by this appearance, I made no diſpute, but that if he could get back thither again, he would not only be unmindful of what religion I had taught him, but likewiſe of the great obligation that he owed me for his wonderful deliverance: nay that he would not only inform his countrymen of me, but accompany hundreds of them to my kingdom, and make me a miſerable ſacrifice like thoſe unhappy wretches taken in battle.

Indeed I was very much to blame to have theſe cruel and unjuſt ſuſpicions, and muſt freely own I wronged the poor creature very much, who was quite of a contrary temper; and had he had that diſcerning acuteneſs which many *Europeans* have, he would have perceived my coldneſs and indifference, and alſo have been very much concerned upon this account: For as I was now more circumſpect, I had much leſſened my kind-

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nefs and familiarity with him: And while this jealoufy continued, I ufed that artful way (now too much in fafhion to occafion ftrife and diffenfion) of pumping him daily, thereby to difcover whether he was deceitful in his thoughts and inclinations: But certainly he had nothing in him but what was confiftent with the beft principles, both as a religious chriftian and grateful friend; and indeed I found every thing he faid was fo ingenuous and innocent, that I had no room for fufpicion, and, in fpite of all uneafinefs, he not only made me entirely his own again, but alfo caufed me much to lament that I ever conceived one ill thought of him.

As we were walking up the fame hill another day, when the weather being fo hazy at fea that I could not perceive the continent, *Friday*, faid I, don't you wifh yourfelf to be in your own country, your own nation, among your old friends and acquaintance? *Yes*, faid he, *me much O glad to be at my own nation.* And what would you do there, *Friday?* faid I, would you turn wild again, eat man's flefh, and be a favage as you was formerly? *No no*, (anfwered he, full of concern, and fhaking his head) Friday *now tell them to live good, tell them to pray God, tell them to eat corn bread, cattle flefh, milk, no eat man again.* But furely replied I, if you fhould offer to do all this, they will kill you, and to manifeft their contempt of fuch inftruction, may eat you up when they have done. He then put on a grave, yet innocent and fmooth countenance, faying, *no, they no kill me, they willing love learn*; that is, that they would be very willing to learn; adding withal, *that they had learn much of the bearded mans that come in the boat.* Will you go back again *Friday?* faid I. He fmiled at that, and told me that he could not fwim fo far. But, faid I, I will make a *canoe* for you. *Yes Mafter*, faid he, *me go if you go; me no go if you ftay.* I go, *Friday!* faid I, why would you have them eat me up, and devour your kind mafter? No no, faid he, *me make they no eat mafter, me make they much love you*; that is, he would tell them how I had flain his enemies, and thereby faved his life, for which reafon he would make them love me: And then he related to me, as well as he was able, how exceeding kind thofe of his nation were to the white, or bearded men as he called them, who in their great calamity, were driven into their country.

It was from this time, indeed, I had ftrong inclinations to venture over, and ufe my utmoft efforts, if poffible, to join thefe white bearded men, who undoubtedly were *Spaniards* or *Portuguefe:* For (thought I) it muft be certainly a better and fafer way to efcape when there is a good company, than for me alone, from an ifland forty miles off the fhore, and without any affiftance. Some days after, *Friday* and I being at work as ufual, at the fame time diverting ourfelves with various dif-

courſes, I told him I had a boat which I would beſtow upon him, whenever he pleaſed to return to his own nation: And to convince him of the truth of what I ſaid, I took him with me to the other ſide of the iſland where my frigate lay, and then taking it from under the water (for I always kept it ſunk for fear of a diſcovery) we both went into it, to ſee how it would manage ſuch an expedition.

Really never could any be more dexterous in rowing than my faithful ſervant, making the boat go as faſt again as I could. Well now, *Friday*, (ſaid I) ſhall we go to your ſo much admired nation? But inſtead of meeting with that cheerfulneſs I expected, he looked very dull and melancholy at my ſaying ſo; which indeed at firſt ſurprized me, till he made me ſenſible that his concern was about the boat's being too ſmall to go ſo far a voyage. Upon which I let him underſtand I had a much bigger; and accordingly the next day, went to the place where the firſt boat lay which I had made, when all the ſtrength I had, or art could uſe, failed me in my attempt to get into the water; but now, it having lain in the ſun two and twenty years, and no care being taken of it all that while, it became in a manner rotten. My man told me, that ſuch a boat would do very well for the purpoſe; ſufficient to carry enough *vittle*, *drink*, *bread*, for that was his manner of talking. In ſhort, my mind being ſtrongly fixed upon my deſign of going over with him to the continent, I very plainly told him that we would both go, and make a boat full as big, and more proportionable than that, where he might ſafely return to his own nation.

Theſe words I obſerved made *Friday* look ſo very penſive, that I thought he would have fallen at my feet. It was ſometime before he would ſpeak a word, which made me aſk him what was the matter with him? He replied, in a very ſoft and moving tone, *what has poor* Friday *done? Why are you angry mad with poor ſervant? What me done, O what me done? Friday*, ſaid I, you never yet have offended me, what makes you think I am angry with you, when I am not angry at all? *You no angry, no angry* ſaid he ſeveral times, *if you be no angry, why den ſend* Friday *over great water to my own nation?* Why ſurely, *Friday*, anſwered I, did not you wiſh to be there, when from a mountain you beheld the place where you was born; and is it not to ſatisfy your deſires that I am willing to give you leave to return thither? *Yes yes, ſaid* Friday, *me wiſh be there ſure 'nough, but me den wiſh maſter there too; no wiſh* Friday *there, no maſter there.* In ſhort, he could not endure the thoughts of going there without me. I go there, *Friday!* ſaid I, what ſhall I do there?—He anſwered, very quickly, *O maſter, you do great deal much good, you teach all de wild mans to be good tame mans, you learn them to be ſober, live good life, to know God,*

God, and pray God. Alas! poor *Friday*, said I, what can I do against their Priests of *Benamuckee*, or indeed, what good can I make your nation sensible of, when I myself am but a poor ignorant man? *No no, master*, said he, *you be no ignorant, you teachee me good, you teachee them good.* You shall go without me *Friday*, said I, for I don't care to accompany you thither: I would rather live in this solitude, than to venture among such inhuman savages. Go your way, since you desire it, and leave me alone by myself, as I was before I saved your life.

Never was any creature more thunder struck than *Friday* was at these words, *Go me away, leave master away!* said he, after a long silence. *No no,* Friday *die,* Friday *no live master gone!* as though he had said, I neither can nor will live if my master sends me from him. And here I cannot but take notice of the strong ties of friendship, which many times surpass those of consanguinity: For often we find a great disagreement among kindred; and when there is any seeming regard for each other, 'tis very seldom true, and scarce ever lasting, if powerful interest does not bear the sway; and that alone is often the occasion of the greatest hatred in the world; which is to desire the death of parents and relations, for the sake of enjoying their fortunes: But here was no such thing between my servant and me; instead of which, there was nothing but gratitude, and the sincerest love: He found me not only his deliverer, but his preserver and comforter: Not a severe and cruel tyrant, but a kind, loving, and affable friend. He wanted for no manner of sustenance; and when he was ill, or out of order, I was his physician, not only for his body, but his soul; and therefore it was no wonder that such an innocent creature, long since divested of his former natural cruelty, should have an uncommon concern at so cruel a separation from me, which pierced him to the very soul, and made him desire even to die rather than live without me.

After I had told *Friday*, in a very careless manner, that he should be at his liberty as soon as the boat was made, the language of his eyes expressed all imaginable confusion, when immediately running to one of his hatchets which he used to wear as a most defensive weapon, he gives it into my hand, with a heart so full that he could scarce speak. *Friday*, said I, what is it you mean? What must I do with this? *Only kill* Friday, *said he*, Friday *no care live long.* But what must I kill you for, replied I again. *Ah! dear Master, what make you* Friday *save from eat a me up, so keep long* Friday, *make* Friday *love* God, *and not love* Benamuckee; *and now* Friday *send away, never see* Friday *more!* As though the poor creature had said, Alas! my dearest, kindest Master, how comes it to pass that after having ventured your precious life to save me from the jaws of devouring cannibals, like myself; after such a tender regard

to

to provide for me ſuch comfortable nouriſhment, and continuing ſo long a kind maſter, and moſt ſincere friend; and after making me forſake the falſe notion of an *Indian* deity, and worſhip the true God, in ſpirit and in truth: after all this I ſay, how comes it now, that you are willing to ſend me away to my former courſe of living, by which means undoubtedly we ſhall be dead to each other; but greater muſt be my misfortune, that I ſhall never behold the beſt friend I have in this world any more!" And this certainly, though he could not expreſs himſelf ſo fully, muſt be his ſentiments; for the tears ran down his cheeks in ſuch a plentiful manner, that I had much ado to refrain from weeping alſo, when I beheld the poor creature's affection: So that I was forced to comfort him in the beſt manner, which I did by telling him, if he was content to abide with me, I ſhould be ever willing to keep him.

After *Friday's* grief was ſomething abated, more fully to convince me of his affection, he ſaid *O maſter, me not care be in my nation, leave you here; me deſire my nation learn good, that all*; meaning that his deſire was for the converſion of that barbarous people. But as I had no apoſtolic miſſion, nor any concern about their ſalvation; ſo I had neither the leaſt intention or deſire of undertaking it; and the ſtrength of my inclination, in order to eſcape, proceeded chiefly from my late diſcourſe with *Friday* about thoſe ſeventeen white bearded men, that had been driven upon the barbarian coaſt, whom I deſigned to join with, as a ſurer means to further our eſcape. To which intent my man and I went to ſearch for a proper tree to fell, whereof we might make a large periagua, or canoe, to undertake the voyage: And indeed we needed not be long in finding one fit for our purpoſe, there being wood enough in the iſland to have built a fleet of large veſſels; but the thing we principally wanted was, to get one ſo near the water, that we might launch it after it was finiſhed, and not commit ſo horrid a miſtake as I had done once, many years before.

Well, after a great ſearch for what was beſt and moſt convenient, *Friday* at laſt, whoſe judgment in ſuch affairs was much ſuperior to mine, pitched upon a kind of wood the moſt fitting for it. To this day I cannot tell the name of the tree I cut it from, nor deſcribe it any other way, than only by ſaying, that it is very like what we call fuſtic, or betwixt that and the Nicaragua wood, being much of the ſame colour and ſmell. But though my man exceeded me in the knowledge of the moſt proper tree, yet I ſhowed him a much better and cleaner way to make a canoe than ever he knew before: For he was for burning the hollow or cavity of the tree, in order to make this boat; but I then told him how we might do it with tools, learning him at the ſame time how to uſe them, which indeed he did very dexterouſly; ſo that in a month's labour, we finiſhed

ished it, making it very handſome, by cutting the outſide into the true ſhape of a boat. After this it took us full a fortnight before we could get her into the water, which we did as it were, inch by inch, upon great rollers: But when ſhe was in, ſhe would have carried twenty men with all the eaſe imaginable.

As I was very well pleaſed, you may be ſure, at the launching of this man of war of mine, I was no leſs amazed to behold with what dexterity my man would manage her, turn her, and paddle her along. Well, *Friday* ſaid I, what do you think of it now? Do you think this will carry us over? *Yes Maſter*, ſaid he, *me venture over well, though great blow wind.* But my deſign was yet farther, which he was inſenſible of, and that was to make a maſt and ſail, and to provide her with an anchor and cable. As for a maſt, that was no difficult thing at all to procure; ſo I fixed upon a ſtrait young cedar tree, which I found near the place, there abounding great plenty of it in the iſland; and ſetting *Friday* to cut it down, I gave him particular directions how to ſhape and order it; but as to the ſail, that belonged to me only. I very well knew I had ſome old ones, or pieces of ſails, enough, which had lain ſix and twenty years by me; but not being careful to preſerve them, as thinking I ſhould have no occaſion to uſe them any more; when I came to look over them, I found them almoſt all rotten, except two; and with theſe I went to work, and after a great deal of pains, and awkward tedious ſtitching, for want of needles, I finiſhed at length a three corner'd ugly thing, like what we call in *England* a ſhoulder of mutton ſail, to go with a boom at bottom, and a little ſmall ſprit at the top, like thoſe which our long boats uſe, and which I very well knew how to manage; eſpecially ſince it was like that which I had in my patron's fiſhing boat, when, with my boy *Xury*, I made my eſcape from the *Barbary* ſhore.

It was near two months, I think, before I completed this work, that is, the rigging and fitting my maſt and ſails; and indeed they were nicely done, having made a ſmall ſtay, and a ſail or foreſail to it, to aſſiſt, if we ſhould turn to the weſtward; and, which was ſtill more, I fixed a rudder to the ſtern of her, to ſteer with; and though I was but a very indifferent ſhipwright, yet, as I was ſenſible of the great uſefulneſs and abſolute neceſſity of a thing like this, I applied myſelf to it with ſuch conſtant application, that at laſt I accompliſhed my deſign: But what with the many dull contrivances I had about it, and the failure of many things, it coſt me as much pains in ordering, as in making the boat. Beſides, when all this was done, I had my man *Friday* to teach what belonged to its navigation: For though he very well underſtood how to paddle a canoe along, yet he was an utter ſtranger to a ſail and a rudder, and

was amazed when he ſaw me work the boat to and again in the ſea by the ſame, and how the ſail gibbed and filled, this way, or that way, as the courſe we ſailed changed. After ſome time, and a little uſe, I made all theſe things very familiar to him, ſo that he became an expert ſailor, except in relation to the compaſs; and that I could make him underſtand but very little of. But as it happened there was ſeldom occaſion for it, there being but little cloudy weather, and ſcarce ever any fog in thoſe parts; the ſtars were always viſible in the night, and the ſhore perſpicuous by day, except in the rainy ſeaſon, which confined every one around them to their habitations.

Thus entered in the ſeven and twentieth year of my reign, or captivity, which you pleaſe, (the laſt three of which bleſſed with the company of my man *Friday*, ought not to be reckoned) I kept the anniverſary of my landing here, with the ſame thankfulneſs to God, for his tender mercies, as I did before; and certainly, as I had a great cauſe for a thankful acknowledgement for my deliverance at firſt, I had much greater now, for ſuch ſingular and additional teſtimonies of the care of Providence over me, in all my diſtreſſes, both of body and mind, and the great hopes I had of being effectually and ſpeedily delivered; for I had a ſtrong impreſſion upon my mind, that I ſhould not be another year in this iſland: But however, I ſtill continued on with my huſbandry; digging, planting and fencing as uſual: Gathering and curing my grapes, and doing all other things that were ne.eſſary for me.

And now the rainy ſeaſon beginning to come upon me, obliged me to keep the longer within doors; but before this I brought my new veſſel into the creek, where I had landed my rafts from the ſhip, and hauling her up to the ſhore, I ordered my man *Friday* to dig a dock ſufficient to hold her in, and deep enough to give her water, wherein ſhe might float; and then when the tide was out, we made a ſtrong dam acroſs the end of it, to keep up the water; by which means ſhe lay dry, as to the tide from the ſea; and to keep the rain from her, we thatched her over, as it were, with boughs of trees, like a houſe; and ſo waited for the months of *November* and *December*, in which I deſigned to venture over the ocean.

No ſooner did the ſeaſonable weather begin to draw near, but ſo much was I elevated by this new deſigned adventure, that I daily prepared for the voyage. The firſt thing I thought of was, to lay by a certain quantity of proviſions, as a ſufficient ſtore for ſuch an expedition, intending in a week or fortnight's time to open the dock and launch out the boat for that purpoſe. But one morning, as I was very buſy upon ſomething neceſſary for this occaſion, I called *Friday* to me, and bid him go to the ſea ſhore, and ſee if he could find a turtle or tortoiſe, a thing which we commonly had once a week, as much upon

account

account of the eggs, as for ſake of the the fleſh. He had not long been gone, but he came running back, as though he was purſued for life, and, as it were, flew over my outward wall or fence, like one that felt not the ground, or ſteps he ſet his feet on; and before I had time to enquire the reaſon of his precipitation, he cries out, *O Maſter! O dear Maſter! O ſorrow, ſorrow! bad! O bad!* Why, what's the matter, *Friday?* ſaid I. *O yonder, yonder*, ſaid he, *there be one, two three canoes! two, three!* ſurely (thought I) there muſt be ſix by my man's way of reckoning; but on a ſtricter enquiry, I found there was but three. Well, *Friday*, ſaid I, don't be terrified, I warrant you we will not only defend ourſelves againſt them, but kill the moſt of thoſe cruel ſavages. But though I comforted him in the beſt manner I could, the poor creature trembled ſo, that I ſcarce knew what to do with him: *O Maſter*, ſays he, *they come look* Friday, *cut pieces* Friday *eat a me up.* Why, *Friday*, ſaid I, they will eat me up as well as you, and my danger is as great as yours: But ſince it is ſo, we muſt reſolve to fight for our lives: What ſay you? can you fight, *Friday?* *Yes*, ſaid he very faintly, *me ſhoot, me kill what I can, but there come great many number.* That's no matter, ſaid I again, our guns will terrify thoſe that we do not kill: I am very willing to ſtand by you till the laſt drop of my blood; now tell me, if you will do the like by me, and obey my orders in whatſoever I command? *Friday* then anſwered, *O Maſter, me loſe life for you, me die when you bid die.* Thus concluding all queſtions concerning his fidelity, immediately I fetched a good dram of rum, (of which I had been a very good huſband) and gave it him to comfort his heart. After he had drank it, I ordered him to take the two fowling pieces, which we always carried, and load them with large ſwan ſhot as big as ſmall piſtol bullets; then I took four muſkets, and loaded them with two ſlugs, and five ſmall bullets each, charging my two piſtols each with a brace. I hung my great ſword, as cuſtomary, naked to my ſide, and gave *Friday* his hatchet, as a moſt certain weapon of defence.

Thus prepared, I thought, as well as any Knight errant that ever handled a ſword and ſpear, I took my perſpective glaſs, and went up the ſide of the hill, to ſee what I could diſcover; and I perceived very ſoon, by my glaſs, that there was one and twenty ſavages, three priſoners, and three canoes; and that their chief concern ſeemed to be the triumphant banquet upon the three poor human bodies, a thing which by this time I had obſerved was very common with them. From hence I alſo remarked, that they did not land at that place from whence *Friday* made his eſcape, but nearer to the creek where the ſhore was low, and where a thick wood came very cloſe to the ſea. And then it was my ſoul was filled with indig-

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nation and abhorrence of ſuch inhuman wretches, that put a period to all my former thoughts in their vindication; neither would I give myſelf time to conſider their right of conqueſt, as I had done before. But deſcending from the mountain, I came down to *Friday*, and told him, I was reſolved to go ſpeedily to them and kill them all; aſking him again, in the ſame breath, if he would ſtand by me? When by this time being recovered from his fright, and his ſpirits much cheered with the dram I had given him, he was very pleaſant, yet ſeriouſly telling me, as he did before, 'when I bid die, he would die.'

And now it was, that having fixed my reſolution in ſo ſtrong a manner, that nothing could diveſt my breaſt from its uncommon fury, I immediately divided the arms already charged between us. To my man *Friday* I gave a piſtol to ſtick in his girdle, with three guns upon his ſhoulder, a weight too great I confeſs to bear; but what muſt a poor king do, who had but one ſoldier in the world? But to ſhew I made him bear no more than what I would lay on myſelf, I ſtuck the other piſtol in my girdle, and the three guns upon my ſhoulders, nay ſomething more, but that was like *Æſop's* burthen, a ſmall bottle of rum, which ſoon was lightened to our exceeding refreſhment. Thus we marched out, under a ponderous load of armour, yet, like two invincible champions, with a quantity of powder and bullets to ſtand our battle, when the pieces were diſcharged. And now my orders being to be obeyed, I charged *Friday* to keep cloſe behind me, and not to ſtir, or ſhoot, or attempt any thing till I commanded him, and, in the interim, not to ſpeak ſo much as one word. It was in this order I fetched a compaſs to my right hand, of near a mile, as well to get over the creek as to attain the wood; and by this I thought to come within ſhot of them before I could be diſcerned; as I found by my glaſs, was no difficult thing to accompliſh.

But how fickle and wavering is the mind of man, even in our greateſt fury, and ſtrongeſt inclination; for while I was taking this march, my reſolutions began to abate, not through fear of their numbers, who were a parcel of naked unarmed wretches; but theſe reflections occured to my thoughts, as what power was I commiſſioned with, or what occaſion or neceſſity had I to go and imbrue my hands in human blood, and murder people who had neither done, nor intended to do me any wrong? They were innocent in particular as to me; and their barbarous cuſtom was not only their miſfortune, but a ſign that God had left them in the moſt immenſe ſtupidity; but yet did not appoint me to be a judge of their actions, much leſs an executioner of his righteous judgments; that on the contrary, whenever he thought fit, he would take vengeance on them himſelf, and puniſh them in a national way, according to their national crimes; but this was nothing at all to me, who

had

had no concerns with them. Indeed my man *Friday* might juſtify himſelf, becauſe they were his declared enemies, of that very ſame nation that went to ſacrifice him before; and indeed it was lawful for him to attack them, which I could not ſay was ſo in reſpect to me. So warmly did theſe things preſs upon my thoughts all the way I went, that I only reſolved to place myſelf ſo, as to behold their bloody entertainment, without falling upon them, except ſomething, more than ordinary, by God's ſpecial direction, ſhould oblige me thereto.

Thus fixed in my reſolution, I entered into the thick wood (my man *Friday* following me cloſe behind) when, with all poſſible warineſs and ſilence, I marched till I came to the ſkirt of it, on that ſide which was the neareſt to them; for only that one end of the wood interpoſed between me and them. Upon which I called very ſoftly to *Friday*, and ſhewed him a great tree, that was juſt at the corner of the wood, I ordered him to repair thither, and bring me word, if he could plainly perceive their actions: Accordingly, he did as I commanded him, and came back with this melancholy ſtory, that they were all about their fire, eating the fleſh of one of their priſoners; and that another lay bound upon the ſand, a little diſtant from them, which they deſigned to be their next ſacrifice; and this, he told me, was not one of their nation, but one of thoſe very bearded men, who was driven by a ſtorm into their country, and whom he had ſo often talked to me about. You may be ſure, that upon hearing this, my ſoul was ready to ſink within me; when aſcending up into a tree, I ſaw plainly by my glaſs, a white man, who lay upon the beach of the ſea, with his hands and feet tied with flags, or things reſembling ruſhes, being covered with clothes, and ſeemed to be a *European*. From the tree where I took this proſpect, I perceived another tree, and a thicket beyond it, about fifty yards nearer to them, than where I was, which, by taking a ſmall circle round, I might come at undiſcovered, and then I ſhould be within half a ſhot of theſe devourers. And this conſideration alone, to be more perfectly revenged upon them made me withhold my paſſion, though I was enraged to the higheſt degree imaginable, when going back about twenty paces, I got behind ſome buſhes, which held all the way till I came to the other tree; and then I aſcended a little riſing ground, not above eighteen yards diſtance from us, and there I had a full view of theſe creatures, and I could perceive all their actions.

Such a ſight did then appear, as obliged me not to loſe a moment's time. There were no leſs than nineteen of theſe dreadful wretches ſeated upon the ground, cloſe huddled together, expreſſing all the delight imaginable at ſo barbarous an entertainment; and they had juſt ſent the other two to murder this poor unhappy chriſtian, and bring him perhaps

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limb by limb to their fire; for they were juſt then going to untie the bands from his feet, in order for death, as fetters are knocked off from the feet of malefactors before they go to the place of execution. Hereupon immediately turning to my man, now, *Friday*, ſaid I, mind what I ſay, fail in nothing, but do exactly as you ſee me do. All which he promiſing he would perform, I ſet down one of my muſkets and the fowling piece upon the ground, and *Friday* did the ſame by his; and with the other muſket I took my aim at the ſavages, bidding him do the like; are you ready? ſaid I, Yes, Maſter, ſaid he. Why then fire at them, ſaid I; and that very moment I gave fire likewiſe.

For my part, I killed one and wounded two; but my man *Friday* taking his aim much better than I, killed two and wounded three more. You may be ſure they were in a dreadful conſternation, at ſuch an unexpected diſaſter; and thoſe who yet had eſcaped our penetrating ſhot, immediately jumped upon their feet, but were in ſuch confuſion, that they knew not which way to run or look, not knowing from whence their deſtruction came. We then threw down our pieces and took up others, giving a ſecond dreadful volley; but as they were loaded only with ſwan ſhot, or ſmall piſtol bullets, we perceived only two of them fall; but ſo many were wounded, that they ran yelling and ſcreaming about like mad creatures. Now, *Friday*, ſaid I, lay down your piece, and take up the muſket, and follow me. He did ſo with great courage, when ſhewing ourſelves to the ſavages, we gave a great ſhout, and made directly to the poor victim, who would have been ſacrificed, had not our firſt fire obliged their butchers with three others, to jump into a canoe. By my order, *Friday* fired at them, at which ſhot I thought he killed them all, by reaſon of their falling to the bottom of the boat; however he killed two, and mortally wounded a third. In the mean time I cut the flags that tied the hands and feet of the poor creature, and lifting him up aſked him in the *Portugueze* tongue, *What he was?* He anſwered me, in *Latin*, *Chriſtianus*; but ſo very weak and faint, that he could ſcarce ſtand or ſpeak. Immediately I gave him a dram and a piece of bread to cheriſh him, and aſked him what countryman he was? He ſaid *Eſpaniola*, and then uttered all the thankfulneſs imaginable for his deliverance. *Seignior* (ſaid I, with as much *Spaniſh* as I was maſter of) let us talk afterwards, but fight now; here, take this ſword and piſtol, and do what you can. And indeed he did ſo with ſuch courage and intrepidity, that he cut two of them to pieces in an inſtant, (the ſavages not having the power to fly for their lives.) I ordered *Friday* to run for thoſe pieces we had left at the tree, which he brought to me with great ſwiftneſs, and then I gave him my muſket, while I loaded the reſt. But now

there

there happened a fierce encounter between the *Spaniard* and one of the favages, who had made at him with one of their wooden fwords; and though the former was as brave as could be expected, having twice wounded his enemy in the head; yet being faint, the *Indian* had thrown him upon the ground, and was wrefting my fword out of his hand, which the *Spaniard* very wifely quitting, drew out his piftol, and fhot him through the body, before I could come near him, who was running to his affiftance. As to *Friday*, he purfued the flying wretches with his hatchet, difpatching three, but the reft were too nimble for him. The *Spaniard* taking one the fowling pieces, wounded two, who running into the wood, *Friday* purfued and killed one; but the other, notwithftanding his wounds, plunged himfelf into the fea and fwam to thofe two who were left in the canoe, which with one wounded, were all that efcaped out of one and twenty. The account is as follows:

Killed at the firft fhot from the tree	3	*Killed, being fallen of their wounds.*	4
At the fecond fhot	2	*Efcaped in the boat, whereof one wounded, if not flain*	4
By Friday *in the boat*	2		
Ditto, *of thofe firft wounded*	2		
Ditto, *in the wood*	1		
By the Spaniard	3	Total	21.

The favages in the canoe worked very hard to get out of our reach, and *Friday* was as eager in purfuing them; and indeed I was no lefs anxious about their efcape, left, after the news had been carried to their people, they fhould return in multitudes, and deftroy us. So being refolved to purfue them, I jumped into one of their canoes, and bid *Friday* to follow me; but no fooner was I in, when to my furprize, I found another poor creature bound hand and foot for the flaughter, juft as the *Spaniard* had been, with very little life in him. Immediately I unbound him, and would have helped him up, but he could neither ftand nor fpeak, but groaned piteoufly, thinking he was only unbound in order to be flain. Hereupon I bid *Friday* fpeak to him, and tell him of his deliverance; when pulling out my bottle, I made the poor wretch drink a dram; which, with the joyful news he had received, fo revived his heart, that he fat up in the boat. As foon as *Friday* began to hear him fpeak, and looked more fully in his face, it would have moved any one to tears to perceive his uncommon tranfports of joy; for he kiffed him, embraced him, hugged him, cried, laughed, hallooed, jumped about, danced, fung, then cried again, wrung his hands, beat his face and head, then fung and jumped about again, like a diftracted

creature;

creature; ſo that it was a great while before I could make him ſpeak to me, or tell me what was the matter with him; but when he came to the liberty of his ſpeech, at laſt he told me, it was his father.

Here indeed I was infinitely moved to ſee the dutiful and tender affection this poor ſavage had to his aged parent. He would ſit down by him in the boat, open his breaſt, and hold his father's head cloſe to his boſom half an hour together to nouriſh it; then he took his arms and ankles, which were ſtiff and numbed with binding, and chafed and rubbed them with his hands; by which means, perceiving what the caſe was, I gave him ſome rum, which proved of great benefit to him.

While we were buſy in this action, the ſavages had gotten almoſt out of ſight; and happy it was we did not purſue them; for there aroſe from the north weſt, which continued all night long, ſuch a violent ſtorm, that I could not ſuppoſe otherwiſe, but that they were all drowned. After this I called *Friday* to me, and aſked him, if he had given his father any bread? He ſhook his head, and ſaid, *None, not one bit, me eat a up all*; ſo I gave him a cake of bread out of a little pouch I carried for this end. I likewiſe gave him a dram for himſelf, and two or three bunches of raiſins for his father. Both theſe he carried to him, for he would make him drink the dram to comfort him. Away he then runs out of the boat as if he was bewitched, with ſuch an extraordinarary ſwiftneſs, that he was out of ſight as it were in an inſtant; but at his return I perceived him ſlacken his pace, becauſe he had ſomething in his hand: And this I found to be, as he approached nearer, an earthen jug to bring his father ſome water in, with two more cakes of bread, which he delivered into my hands. Being very thirſty myſelf, I drank ſome of the water, of which when his father had drank ſufficiently, it more revived his ſpirits than all the rum I had given him.

I then called *Friday* to me, and ordered him to carry the *Spaniard* one of the cakes and ſome water, who was repoſing himſelf upon a green place under the ſhade of a tree, but ſo weak that though he exerted himſelf, he could not ſtand upon his feet. Upon which I ordered *Friday* to rub and bathe his ankles with rum, as he did his father's. But every minute he was employed in this, he would caſt a wiſhful eye towards the boat, where he left his father ſitting; when ſuddenly, not being to be ſeen, he flew like lightning to him; and finding he only laid himſelf down to eaſe his limbs, he returned back to me preſently; and then I ſpoke to the *Spaniard* to let *Friday* help him, and lead him to the boat, in order to be conveyed to my dwelling. where I would take care of him: Upon which *Friday* made nothing to take him upon his back

and

and ſo carried him to the canoe, ſetting him cloſe by his father; and preſently ſtepping out again, launched the boat off, and paddled it along the ſhore faſter than I could walk, though the wind blew very hard too; and having brought them ſafe to the creek, away he runs to fetch the other canoe, which he brought to the creek almoſt as ſoon as I got to it by land; when wafting me over, he took our new gueſts out of the boat: But ſo weak were they, that I was forced to make a kind of hand barrow; and when I came to my cattle, not being willing to make an entrance into my wall, we made them a handſome tent, covered with old ſails and boughs of trees, making two good beds of rice ſtraw, with blankets to lie upon and cover them. Thus, like an abſolute king, over ſubjects who owed their lives unto me, I thought myſelf very remarkable, eſpecially conſidering I had three religions in my kingdom, my man *Friday* being a Proteſtant, his father a Pagan, and the *Spaniard* a Papiſt; but I gave liberty of conſcience to them all.

To get proviſions for my poor weak ſubjects, I ordered *Friday* to kill me a yearling goat, which when he had done, I cut off the hind quarters, and chopping it into ſmall pieces, boiled and ſtewed it, putting barley and rice into the broth. This I carried into their tent, ſet a table, dined with them myſelf, and encouraged them. *Friday* was my interpreter to his father, and indeed to the *Spaniard* too, who ſpoke the language of the ſavages pretty well. After dinner I ordered *Friday* to fetch home all our arms from the field of battle, and the next day to bury the dead bodies, which he did accordingly.

And now I made *Friday* enquire of his father, whether he thought thoſe ſavages had eſcaped the late ſtorm in their canoe; and if ſo, whether they would not return with a power too great for us to reſiſt? He anſwered, that he thought it impoſſible they ſhould outlive the ſtorm, or if they were driven ſouthwardly, they would come to a land where they would as certainly be devoured, as if they were drowned in the ſea. And ſuppoſe they had attained their own country, the ſtrangeneſs of their bloody and fatal attack, would make them tell their people, that the reſt of them were killed by thunder and lightning, not by the hand of man, but by two heavenly ſpirits (meaning *Friday* and me) who were ſent from above to deſtroy them: And this, he ſaid, he knew, becauſe he heard them ſay the ſame to one another. And indeed he was in the right on't; for I have heard ſince, that theſe four men gave out, that whoever went to that inchanted iſland, would be deſtroyed by fire from the gods.

No canoes appearing ſome time after, as I expected, my apprehenſions ceaſed; inſtead of which my former thoughts of a voyage took place, eſpecially when *Friday*'s father aſſured me I ſhould have good uſage in his country. As to the *Spaniard*,

he told me, that ſixteen more of his countrymen and *Portugneſe*, who had been ſhipwrecked, made their eſcape thither; that though they were in union with the ſavages, yet they were very miſerable for want of proviſions and other neceſſaries. When I aſked him about the particulars of his voyage, he anſwered, that their ſhip was bound from *Rio de la Plata* to the *Havanna*, that when the ſhip was loſt, only five men periſhed in the ocean; the reſt, having ſaved themſelves in the boat, were now landed on the main continent. And what do they intend to do there? ſaid I. He replied, they had concerted meaſures to eſcape by building them a veſſel, but they had neither tools nor proviſions; ſo that all their deſigns came to nothing. Suppoſing, ſaid I, I ſhould make them a propoſal, and invite them here, would they not carry me priſoner to *New Spain?* He anſwered, no, for he knew *hem to be ſuch honeſt men as would ſcorn to act ſuch inhuman baſeneſs to their deliverer: That, if I pleaſed, he and the old ſavage would go over to them, talk with them about it, and bring me an anſwer; that they ſhould all ſwear fidelity to me as their leader, upon the holy ſacraments; and that for his part he would not only do the ſame, but ſtand by me to the laſt drop of his blood, ſhould there be occaſion.

Theſe ſolemn aſſurances made me reſolve to grant them relief, and to ſend theſe two over for that purpoſe: But when every thing was ready, the *Spaniard* raiſed an objection which carried a great deal of weight in it. *You know, Sir,* ſaid he, *that being ſome time with you, I cannot but be ſenſible of your ſtock of rice and corn, ſufficient, perhaps, for us at preſent, but not for them, ſhould they come over preſently; much leſs to victual a veſſel for an intended voyage. Want might be as great an occaſion for them to diſagree and rebel, as the children of* Iſrael *did againſt God himſelf, when they wanted bread in the wilderneſs: And therefore my advice is to wait another harveſt, and, in the mean time, cultivate and improve ſome more land, whereby we may have plenty of proviſions, in order to execute our deſign.*

This advice of the *Spaniard* I approved of extremely, and ſo ſatisfied was I of his fidelity, that I eſteemed him ever after. And thus we all four went to work upon ſome more land, and againſt ſeed time we had got as much cured and trimmed up, as was ſufficient to ſow twenty two buſhels of barley on, and ſixteen jars of rice, which was in ſhort all the ſeed we had to ſpare. As we were four in number, and by this time all in good health, we feared not an hundred *Indians*, ſhould they venture to attack us: And while the corn was growing, I pitched upon ſome trees fit to build us a large veſſel in caſe the *Spaniards* came over; which being marked, I ordered *Friday* and his father to cut them down, appointing the *Spaniard*, who was now my Privy Counſellor, to overſee and direct the work.

work. I likewife increafed my flocks of goats, by fhooting the wild dams, and bringing home their kids to my enclofure: Nor did I neglect the grape feafon, but cured them as ufual, though I had fuch a quantity now, as would have filled eight barrels with raifins. And thus all of us being employed, they in working, and I in providing for them, till harveft came, God Almighty bleffed the increafe of it fo much, that from twenty two barrels of barley, we threfhed out two hundred and twenty, and the like quantity of rice, fufficient to victual any fhip, to carry me and all the *Spaniards* to any part of *America*.

Thus the principal objection being anfwered by a fufficient ftock of provifion, I fent my two ambaffadors over to the main, with a regal authority, to adminifter the oaths of allegiance and fidelity, and have an inftrument figned under their hands, though I never afked whether they had pen, ink, or paper; when giving each of them a mufket, eight charges of powder and ball, and provifion enough for eight days, they failed away with a fair gale, on a day when the moon was at full.

Scarce a fortnight had paffed over my head, but impatient for their return, I laid me down to fleep one morning, when a ftrange accident happened, which was ufhered in by my man's coming running to me, and calling aloud, *Mafter, Mafter, they are come, they are come*. Upon which, not dreaming of any danger, out I jumps from my bed, puts on my clothes, and hurries through my little grove, when looking towards the fea, I perceived a boat about a league and a half diftant, ftanding in for the fhore, with the wind fair. I beheld they did not come from the fide where the land lay on, but from the fouthermoft end of the ifland: So thefe being none of the people we wanted, I ordered *Friday* to lie ftill, till fuch time as I defcended from the mountain, which, with my ladder, I now afcended, in order to difcover more fully what they were: And now, with the help of my perfpective glafs, I plainly perceived an *Englifh* fhip, which I concluded it to be, by the fafhion of its long boat, and which filled me with fuch uncommon tranfports of joy, that I cannot tell how to defcribe; and yet fome fecret doubts hung about me, proceeding from I know not what caufe, as though I had reafon to be upon my guard. And indeed I would have no man contemn the fecret hints and intimations of danger, which very often are given, when he may imagine there is no poffibility of its being real: For had I not been warned by this filent admonition, I had been in a worfe ftation than before, and perhaps inevitably ruined.

It was not long before I perceived the boat to approach the fhore, as though they looked for a place where they might conveniently land; and at laft they ran their boat on fhore upon the beach, about half a mile diftance, which proved fo

much

much the happier for me; ſince had they come into the creek, they had landed juſt at my door, and might not only have forced me out of my caſtle, but plundered me of all I had in the world. Now I was fully convinced they were all *Engliſhmen*, three of which were unarmed and bound; when immediately the firſt four or five leaped on ſhore, and took thoſe three out of the boat as priſoners. One of whom I could perceive uſed the moſt paſſionate geſtures of entreaty, affliction, and deſpair, while the others, in a leſſer degree, ſhewed abundance of concern.

Not knowing the meaning of this, I was very much aſtoniſhed, and I beckoned to *Friday*, (who was below) to aſcend the mountain, and likewiſe view this ſight. *O Maſter*, ſays he to me, *you ſee* Engliſh *mans eat priſoners, as well as ſavage mans.* And do you think they will eat them, *Friday?* ſaid I. *Yes*, ſaid *Friday*, *they eat all up.* No no, ſaid I, *Friday*, I am much more concerned leaſt they murder them; but as for eating them up, that I am ſure they never will.

And now I not only lamented my misfortune in not having the *Spaniard* and ſavage with me, but alſo that I could not come within ſhot of them unperceived, (they having no fire arms among them) and ſave theſe three men, whom I thought they were going to kill with their ſwords. But ſome comfort it was to me, that I perceived they were ſet at liberty to go where they pleaſed, the raſcally ſeamen ſcattering about as though they had a mind to ſee the place: And ſo long did they negligently ramble, that the tide had ebbed ſo low, as to leave the boat aground. Nor were the two men that were in her more circumſpect, for having drank a little too much liquor, they fell faſt aſleep; but one of them waking before the other, and perceiving the boat too faſt aground for his ſtrength to remove it, he halloo'd out to the reſt, who made all poſſible expedition to him: But, as Providence ordered it, all their force was ineffectual to launch her, when I could hear them ſpeak one to another, *Why let her alone*, Jack, *can's ye, ſhe'll float next tide*; by which words I was fully confirmed that they were my own countrymen. All this while I lay very quiet, as being fully ſenſible, it could be no leſs than ten hours before the boat would be afloat, and then it would be ſo dark, as that they could not eaſily perceive me, by which means I ſhould be at more liberty to hear their talk, and obſerve all their motions: Not but that I prepared for my defence before; yet as I had now another ſort of enemies to combat with, I acted with more caution. I took two fuzees on my ſhoulders, and gave *Friday* three muſkets; beſides my formidable goat ſkin coat, and monſtrous cap, made me look as fierce and terrible as *Hercules* of old, eſpecially when two piſtols

tols were ſtuck in my belt, and my naked ſword hanging by my ſide.

It was my deſign at firſt not to make any attempt till it was dark; but it being now two o'clock, in the very heat of the day, the ſailors were all ſtraggling into the woods, and undoubtedly were lain down to ſleep. The three poor diſtreſſed creatures, too anxious to get any repoſe, were however ſeated under the ſhade of a great tree, about a quarter of a mile from me: Upon which, without any more ado, I approached towards them, with my man following behind me, and before I was perceived, I called aloud to them in *Spaniſh*, *What are ye Gentlemen?*

At theſe words they ſtarted up in great confuſion, and, beholding the ſtrange figure I made, they returned no anſwer, but ſeemed as if they would fly from me. *Gentlemen*, (ſaid I, *in Engliſh*) *don't be afraid: Perhaps you have a friend nearer you than you expect.* He muſt be from Heaven, *ſaid one of them gravely, and pulling off his hat*, for we are paſt all help in this world. *All help is from Heaven*, ſaid I; *but Sir, as I have perceived every action between you and thoſe brutes, ſince your landing, only inform me how to aſſiſt you, and I will do it to the utmoſt of my power.*

Am I talking with God or man (ſaid he, in melting tears) Are you of human kind, or an Angel! *Sir*, ſaid I, *my poor habit may tell you I am a man, and an* Engliſhman, *willing to aſſiſt you, having but this ſervant only: Here are arms and ammunition: Tell freely your condition, can we ſerve you?* The ſtory, ſaid he, is too long to relate, ſince our butchers are ſo near. But, Sir, I was maſter of that ſhip, my men have mutinied, and it is a favour they have put my mate, this paſſenger, and me, on ſhore, without murdering us, though we expect nothing but to periſh here. *Are your enemies gone?* ſaid I. No, replied he, (pointing to a thicket) there they lie, while my heart trembles, leſt having ſeen and heard us, they ſhould murder us all. *Have they fire arms?* ſaid I. They have but two pieces, ſaid he, one of which is left in the boat: He told me there were two enormous villains among them, that were the authors of this mutiny, who if they were killed or ſeized, might induce the reſt to return to their obedience. Well, well, ſaid I, let us retire farther under the covering of the woods, and there it was I made theſe conditions with him:

I. That while they ſtayed in the iſland, they ſhould not pretend to any authority; but be entirely conformable to my orders, and return me the arms, which I ſhould put into their hands.

II. That if the ſhip was recovered, they ſhould afford *Friday* and I our paſſage gratis to *England*.

When he had given me all the ſatisfaction I could deſire, I gave each of them a gun, with powder and ball ſufficient, adviſing them to fire upon them as they lay. The captain modeſtly ſaid, that he was ſorry to kill them, though on the other hand, to let theſe villians eſcape, who were the authors of this miſery, might be the ruin of us all, ſhould they bring the ſhip's company upon us. Well, ſaid I, do as you think fit: And ſo he accordingly fired, killing one of the Captain's chiefeſt enemies, and wounding the other, who eagerly called for aſſiſtance; but the captain, (who had reſerved his piece) coming up to him, *Sirrah*, ſaid he, *'tis too late to call for aſſiſtance, you ſhould rather cry to God to pardon your villany*; ſo knocked him down with the ſtock of his gun: Three others were alſo ſlightly wounded, who, at my approach, cried out for mercy. This the captain granted, upon condition that they would ſwear to be true to him in recovering the ſhip, which they ſolemnly did; however, I obliged the captain to keep them bound. After which I ſent *Friday* and the captain's mate to ſecure the boat, and bring away the oars and ſail; when at their return, three men coming back, and ſeeing their late diſtreſſed captain, now their conqueror, ſubmitted to be bound alſo. And then it was, that having more liberty, I related the adventures of my whole life, which he heard with a ſerious and wonderful attention. After this, I carried him and his two men into my little fortified caſtle, ſhewed them all my conveniences, and refreſhed them with ſuch proviſions as I could afford. When this was over, we began to conſider about regaining the ſhip. He ſaid, that there were 26 hands on board, who knowing their lives were forfeited by the law, for conſpiracy and mutiny, would grow ſo very hardened, that it would be dangerous for our ſmall company to attack them. This was a reaſonable inference indeed; but ſomething we did reſolve on, and immediately put in execution; for we heaved the boat upon the beach ſo high, that ſhe could not ſhoot off at high water mark, and broke a hole in her, not eaſily to be ſtopped; and ſo all the ſignals they gave for the boat to come on board were in vain. This obliged them to ſend another boat aſhore, with ten men armed, whoſe faces the captain plainly deſcribed, the boatſwain being the chief officer; but he ſaid there were three honeſt lads among them, who were forced into the conſpiracy. Hereupon I gave him freſh courage (for I had perceived he was in concern) in the mean while ſecuring our priſoners, part in my caſtle, over whom *Friday* ſtood centinel; but two others we took into our ſervice, and then thought ourſelves ſtrong enough to adventure a battle. When the ſailors landed, and beheld their boat in that condition, they not only halloo'd, but fired for their companions to hear, yet they received no anſwer. This ſtruck them with horrour and

amazement,

amazement, thinking their companions were murdered; then they made as if they would return to the ſhip; I could perceive the captain's countenance change at this, till of a ſudden three men were ordered to look after the boat, while the other ſeven leaped on ſhore, in order to ſearch for their companions: And indeed they came to the brow of the hill, near my ancient caſtle, from whence they could ſee a great way into the woods, and there ſhouting and hallooing till tired and weary, at length ſeated themſelves under a ſpreading tree. My opinion was, that nothing could be done till night, when I might uſe ſome artifice to get them out of the boat: But of a ſudden they all ſtarted up, and made to the ſea ſide: Hereupon I ordered *Friday* and the captain's mate to go over the creek, and halloo as loud as they could, and ſo, decoying them into the woods, come round to me again. And this indeed had its effect; for they followed the noiſe, till coming weſtward to the creek, they called for their boat to carry them over, taking one of the men out of her, and leaving two to look after her, having faſtened her to the ſtump of a little tree on ſhore. Hereupon immediately the captain and our party, paſſing the creek out of their ſight, we ſurprized them both, by the captain's knocking down one, and ordering the other to ſurrender on pain of death, and who, being the moſt honeſt of them all, ſincerely joined with us. By this time it was pretty late, when returning to their boat, which they found aground in the creek, the tide out, and the men gone; they ran about, wringing their hands, crying it was an inchanted iſland, and that they ſhould be all murdered by ſpirits or devils. My men would willingly have ſallen upon them, but I would not agree to hazard any of our party. But to be more certain, *Friday* and the captain crawled upon their hands and feet, as near as poſſible; and when the boatſwain approached in ſight, ſo eager was the captain, that he fired and killed him on the ſpot; *Friday* wounded the next man, and the third ran away. Hereupon, I advanced with my whole army, and, it being dark, I ordered the man we had ſurprized with the boat, to call them by their names, and to parley with them. Accordingly he called out aloud, *Tom Smith!, Tom Smith!* He anſwered, *Who's that?* Robinſon! The other anſwered, *For God's ſake*, Tom, *ſurrender immediately, or you are all dead men.* Who muſt we ſurrender to? ſays *Smith. To our captain and fifty men here, who have taken me priſoner, wounded* Will Frye, *and killed the boatſwain.* Shall we have quarters then? ſaid he. Hereupon the captain calls out, *You*, Smith, *you know my voice; ſurrender immediately, and you ſhall all have your lives granted, except* Will Atkins. Hereupon *Atkins* cried out, *What have I done, captain, more than the reſt, who have been as bad as me?* But that was a lie, for he was the perſon that laid hold of him, and bound him. However,

ever, he was ordered to ſubmit to the Governeur's mercy, for ſuch was I called. And ſo, laying down their arms, we bound them all, and ſeized on their boat.

After this the captain expoſtulated with them, telling them, that the Governour was an *Engliſhman*, who might execute them there; but he thought they would be ſent to *England*, except *Will Atkins*, who was ordered to prepare for death next morning. Hereupon *Atkins* implored the captain to intercede for his life, and the reſt that they might not be ſent to *England*. Thus anſwered our project for ſeizing the ſhip. For ſending *Atkins*, and two of the worſt, faſt bound, to the cave, and the reſt being committed to my bower, I ſent the captain, to tamper with them, in the Governour's name, offering them pardon, if they would aſſiſt him in recovering the ſhip. Upon which they all promiſed to ſtand by him till their laſt drop of blood; and whoever acted treacherouſly ſhould be hanged in chains upon the beach. They were all releaſed on theſe aſſurances; and then the captain repaired the other boat, making his paſſenger captain, with four men well armed; while his mate, himſelf, and five men more went in the other. By midnight they came within call of the ſhip, when the captain ordered *Robinſon* to hail her, and tell them that, with great difficulty, they had found the men at laſt. But while they were diſcourſing, the captain, his mate, and the reſt entered, and knocked down the ſecond mate and carpenter, ſecured thoſe that were upon deck, by putting them under hatches, while the other boat's crew entered and ſecured the forecaſtle; then broke into the round houſe, where the mate, after ſome reſiſtance, ſhot the pirate captain through the head; upon which all the reſt yielded themſelves priſoners. And thus the ſhip being recovered, the joyful ſignal was fired, which I heard with the greateſt joy imaginable: Nor was it long before he brought the ſhip to an anchor at the creek's mouth, when coming to me unawares, *There*, ſays he, *my deareſt friend and deliverer, there is your ſhip, and we are your ſervants*; a comfort ſo unſpeakable, as made me ſwoon in his arms, while, with gratitude to heaven, we were tenderly embracing each other.

Nothing now remained, but to conſult what we ſhould do with the priſoners, two of which he thought not ſafe to take on board. Hereupon, concerting with the captain, I dreſſed myſelf in one of his ſuits, and ſending for them, told them, that I was going to leave the iſland with all my people, if they would tarry there, their lives ſhould be ſpared; if not, they ſhould be hanged at the firſt port we came to. They agreed to ſtay. Hereupon I told them my whole ſtory, charging them to be kind to the *Spaniards* that were expected, gave them all my arms, and informing them of every thing neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence, I and my man Friday went on board. But the

next

next morning two of the men came swimming to the ship's side, desiring the captain to take them on board, though he hanged them afterwards, complaining mightily how barbarously the others used them. Upon which I prevailed with the captain to take them in, and being severely whipped and pickled, they proved more honest for the future. And so I bade farewel to this island, carrying along with me my money, parrot, umbrella, and goat skin cap, setting sail *Dec.* 12, 1686, after twenty eight years, two months, and nineteen days residence, that same day and month that I escaped from *Sallee*, landing in *England*, *June* 11, 1687, after thirty five years absence from my own country, which rendered me altogether an utter stranger.

Here I found my first captain's widow alive, who had buried a second husband, but in very mean circumstances, and whom I made mighty easy upon my account. Soon after I went down to *Yorkshire*, where all my family were expired, except two sisters, and as many of one of my brother's children. I found no provision had been made for me, they concluding I had been long since dead; so that I was but in a very slender situation. Indeed the captain did me a great kindness, by his report to the owners, how I had delivered their ship on the desolate island, upon which they made me a present of £200 sterling. I next went to *Lisbon*, taking my man *Friday* with me, and arriving there in *April*, I met the *Portuguese* captain, who took me on board on the *African* coast; but being ancient, he had left off the sea, and resigned all his business to his son, who followed the *Brasil* trade. So altered both of us were, that we did not know each other at first, till I discovered myself more fully to him. After a few embraces, I began to enquire after my concerns, and then the old gentleman told me, that it was nine years since he had been at *Brasil*, where my partner was then living, but my trustees were both dead; that it was his belief, I should have a good account of the product of my plantation; that the imagination of my being lost, had obliged my trustees to give an estimate of my share to the Procurator Fiscal, who, in case of my not returning, had given one third to the King, and the rest to the Monastry of *St. Augustine*; but if I put in my claim, or any one for me, it would be returned, except the yearly product, which was given to the poor. I then desired him to tell me, what improvement he thought had been made of my plantation, and whether he imagined it was worth my while to look after it? He answered, he did not know how much it was improved, but this he was certain of, that my partner was grown vastly rich upon his half of it; and that he had been informed, that the King had 200 moidores per annum, for his third part. He added, that the survivors of my trustees were persons of an ingenuous

character;

character; that my partner could witness my title, my name being registered in the country, by which means indisputably I should recover considerable sums of money. But, answered I, how could my trustees dispose of my effects, when I made you only my heir? This, he said, was true, but there being no affidavit made of my death, he could not act as an executor. However, he had ordered his son, (then at *Brasil*) to act by procuration upon my account, and had taken possession of my sugar house, having accounted himself for eight years with my partners and trustees for the profits, of which he would give me a good account.

And indeed this he performed very faithfully in a few days, making himself indebted to me 470 moidores of gold, over and above what had been lost at sea, after I had left the place. And then he recounted to me what misfortunes he had gone through, which forced my money out of his hands, to buy part in a new ship: *But* (says he) *you shall not want, take this, and when my son returns, every farthing shall be paid you.* Upon which he put into my hand a purse of 150 moidores in gold, as likewise the instrument containing the title to the ship in which his son was, and which he offered as security for the remainder. But really when I saw so much goodness, generosity, tenderness, and real honesty, I had not the heart to accept it, for fear he should straiten himself on my account. *'Tis true,* said he, *it may do so; but the money is yours, not mine, and you may have the greatest occasion for it.* However I returned fifty of them, promising to give him the other hundred, when I got my effects in my hands, saying I designed to go myself for that purpose. But he told me, he could save me that trouble; and so caused me to enter my name with a public notary, as likewise my affidavit, with a procuration fixed to it; and this he advised me to send in a letter to one of his acquaintance, a merchant at *Brasil*; and indeed nothing could be more faithfully and honourably observed; for in seven months time I had a very faithful account of all my effects, what sums of money were raised, what expended, and what remained for my use: In a word, I found myself worth 4000l. sterling, and 100l per annum. Nor was this all, for my partner congratulated me upon my being alive, telling me how much my plantation was improved, what negroes were at work, and how many *Ave Marias* he had said to the Virgin *Mary* for my preservation, desiring me to accept kindly some presents he had sent me, which I found shewed the greatest generosity.

No sooner did the ship arrive, but I rewarded my faithful captain, by returning him the hundred moidores; and not only forgiving him all he owed me, I allowed him yearly a hundred more, and fifty to his son, during their lives. And

now

now being resolved to go to *England*, I returned letters of thanks to the Prior of St. *Augustine*, and in particular to my old partner, with very suitable presents. By the captain's advice, I was persuaded to go by land to *Calais*, and there take passage for *England*: When as it happened, I got a young *English* gentleman, a merchant's son at *Lisbon*, to accompany me, together with two *English* and two *Portuguese* gentlemen, so that with a *Portuguese* servant, an *English* sailor, and my man *Friday*, there were nine in number.

Thus armed and equipt, we set out, and came to *Madrid*, when the summer decaying, we hasted to *Navarre*, where we were informed that there was scarcely any passing, by reason of the prodigious quantity of snow; so that we were obliged to abide near twenty days at *Pampeluna*, and at last to take a guide to conduct us safe towards *Thoulouse*. And now twelve other gentlemen joining with us, together with their servants, we had a very jolly company. Away our guide led us by the frightful mountains, and through so many intricate mazes and windings, that we insensibly past them, which as we travelled along ushered us to the prospect of the fruitful and charming provinces of *Languedoc* and *Gascony*.

But now came on two adventures, both tragical and comical. 1st, Our guide was encountered by three wolves and a bear, who set upon him and his horse, and wounded him in three places: Upon which my man riding up to his assistance, shot one of them dead, on which the others ran into the woods. But the pleasantest adventure was, to see my man attack the bear. This creature, if let alone, will never meddle with you: And this my man *Friday* very well knew, and so begging leave of me in broken *English*, he told us, *He would make good laugh*. Why, you silly fool, said I, he'll eat you up at a mouthful. *Eatee me up!* replied he, *me eatee him, and make much good laugh*. Upon which, pulling off his boots, he claps on his pumps, and running after the monstrous beast, calls out, that he wanted to speak with him; and then throwing stones on purpose to incense him, the beast turns about in a fury, and, with prodigious strides shuffles after him. But though he could not keep pace with *Friday*, who made up to us as it were for help, yet, being angry, *You dog*, said I, *immediately take horse, and let us shoot the creature*. But he cried, *Dear Master, no shoot, me make you much laugh*. And so he turned about, making signs to follow, while the bear ran after him, till coming to a great oak, he ascended in a minute, leaving his gun at the bottom of it. Nor did the bear make any difficulty of it, but, notwithstanding his bulk, ascended like a cat. You must think I was not a little amazed at the folly of my man, not perceiving any thing to occasion our laughter, till we rode up nearer, and beheld the beast mounted on the oak,

oak, on the beginning of the ſame branch to which *Friday* clung at the father end, where the bear dared not come. Hereupon *Friday* cried out, *Now, Maſter me make much laugh, me make de bear dance.* Upon which he fell a ſhaking the bough, which made the creature look behind him to ſee how he could retreat. Then, as if the bear had underſtood his ſtammering *Engliſh, Why you not come farther, Mr. Bear?* ſaid he. *Pray, Mr. Bear, come farther:* And then indeed we all burſt into laughter, eſpecially when we perceived *Friday* drop like a ſquirrel upon the ground, leaving the beaſt to make the beſt of his way down the tree. And now thinking it the moſt convenient time to kill him, *Friday* cried out, *O dear, Maſter, no ſhoot; me ſhoot by and by*; when taking up the gun, *Me not ſhoot yet*, ſaid he, *me make once more much laugh.* And accordingly he was as good as his word, for the creature deſcending backwards from the tree very leiſurely, before he could lay one foot on the ground, *Friday* ſhot him through the ear ſtone-dead, and looking to ſee if we were pleaſed, burſt out into a hearty laugh, ſaying, *So we kill bear in my country; not with gun, but much long arrow.* Thus ended our diverſion, to our great ſatisfaction, eſpecially in a place where the terrible howlings ſtruck us with continual terror. But the ſnow now growing very deep, particularly on the mountains, the ravenous creatures were obliged to ſeek for ſuſtenance in the villages, where coming by ſurpriſe on the country people, they killed ſeveral of them, beſides a great number of their ſheep and horſes.

Our guide told us, we had yet one more dangerous place to paſs by; and if there were any more wolves in the country, there we ſhould find them. This was a ſmall plain, encompaſſed with woods, to get through a long lane, to the village where we were to lodge. When we entered the wood the ſun was within half an hour of ſetting; and a little after it was ſet, we came into the plain, which was not above two furlongs over, and then we ſaw five great wolves croſs the road, without taking notice of us, and ſo ſwift as though they were purſuing after their prey. Hereupon our guide, believing there were more coming, deſired us to be upon our guard. Accordingly our eyes were very circumſpect, till about a league farther we ſaw a dead horſe, and near a dozen of wolves devouring its carcaſs. My man *Friday* fain would have fired at them, but I would not permit him: Nor had we gone half over the plain, but we heard dreadful howlings in a wood on our left, when preſently we ſaw an hundred come up againſt us, as though they had been an experienced army. This obliged us to form ourſelves in the beſt manner: and then I ordered that every other man ſhould fire, that thoſe who did not might be ready to give a ſecond volley, ſhould they advance upon us; and

and then every man to make use of his pistols. But there was no necessity for this; for the enemy being terrified, stopped at the noise of the fire; four of them were shot dead, and several others being wounded, went away, bleeding, as we could very plainly discover by the snow. And now remembering what had been often told me, that such was the majesty of a man's voice, as to strike terror even in the fiercest creatures, I ordered all my companions to holloo as loud as possible: And in this notion I was not altogether mistaken; for they immediately turned about upon the first halloo, and began to retire: Upon which, ordering a second volley in their rear, they galloped into the woods with great precipitation.

Thus we had some small time to load our pieces again, and then made all the haste we could on our way: But we had not rode far before we were obliged to put ourselves in a posture of defence as before, being alarmed with a very dreadful noise in the same wood on our left hand, the same way as we were to pass, only that it was at some distance from us. By this time the darksome clouds began to spread over the elements, and the light growing very dusky, made it so much the more to our disadvantage: But the noise still increasing more, we were fully assured, that it was the howling and yelling of those ravenous creatures: when presently three troops of wolves, appeared to our sight on our front, as though all these companions had a design to surround us, and devour us in spite of fate. But as they did not fall upon us immediately, we proceeded on our journey in the swiftest manner that the roads would permit our horses, which was only a large trot. It was in this manner we travelled, till such time as we discovered another wood, and had the prospect of its entrance, through which we were to pass at the farthest side of the plain. But surely none can express the terror we were in, when approaching the lane, we perceived a confused number of the fiercest wolves standing, and as it were, guarding its entrance. Nor were we long in this amazement, before another occasion of horrour presented itself: For suddenly we heard the report of a gun at another opening into the wood; and looking that way, out ran a horse, bridled and saddled, flying with the greatest swiftness, and no less than sixteen or seventeen wolves pursuing him, in order to devour the poor creature: And unquestionably they did so, after they had run him down, not being capable to hold out that swiftness with which he at first escaped them.

When we rode up to that entrance from whence the horse came forth, there lay the carcasses of two men and another horse, mangled and torn by these devouring wolves: And undoubtedly one of these men was the person who fired the gun, which we had heard, for the piece lay by him; but alas! most

of the upper part of his body and his head was entombed in the bowels of these ravenous creatures.

What course to take, whether to proceed or retreat, we could not tell; but it was not long before the wolves themselves made us come to a resolution: For such numbers surrounded us, every one of whom expected their prey, that were our bodies to be divided among them, there would not be half a mouthful a piece. But happy, very happy, it was for us, that but a little way from the entrance, there lay some very large timber trees, which I supposed had been cut down and lay there for carriage, among which I drew my little troop, placing ourselves in a line behind one long tree, which served us for a breast work; when, desiring them to alight, we stood in a triangle, or three fronts, enclosing our horses in the centre, the only place where we could preserve them.

Never certainly was a more furious charge than what the wolves made upon us in this place; and the sight of the horses, which was the principal prey they aimed at, provoked their hunger, and added to their natural fierceness. They came on us with a most dreadful noise, that made the woods ring again, and beginning to mount our pieces of timber, I ordered every other man to fire as before directed; and indeed so well did they take their aim, that they killed several of the wolves at the first volley; but still we were obliged to keep a continual firing, by reason they came on like devils, pushing one another with the greatest fury. But our second volley something abated their courage; when stopping a little, we hoped they would have made the best of their way, however it did not prove so, for others made a new attempt upon us: And though in four firings we killed seventeen or eighteen of them, laming twice as many; yet they came on several times successively, as though they valued not their lives for the sake of their prey.

Unwilling was I to spend our last shot too suddenly: And therefore called my other servant, and giving him a horn of powder, bid him lay a large train quite along the timber, which he did, while *Friday* was charging my fuzee and his own, with the greatest dexterity. By this time the wolves coming up the timber, I set fire to the train, by snapping a discharged pistol close on the powder. This so scorched and terrified them, that some fell down, and others jumped in among us with the strength and terror of the flame, but these we immediately dispatched, when all the rest, frightened with the light, which the darksome night caused to appear more dreadful, began at length to retire: Upon which, ordering our last pistols to be fired at once, giving at the same time a great shout, the wolves were obliged to have recourse to their swiftness by turning tail; and then we sallied out upon twenty lame ones, cutting

them

them in pieces with our ſwords, which obliged them to howl lamentably, to the terror of their fellow devourers, who reſigned to us the field, as victorious conquerors. And, indeed, I queſtion whether *Alexander*, King of *Macedon*, in any of his conqueſts, had more occaſion for triumph than we had; for he was backed by numerous captains and ſoldiers of the greateſt courage, conſtancy, and reſolution; whereas our little army was obliged to combat a legion of devils, as it were, worſe than cannibals, who, had they ſlain us, would have ſacrificed us the ſame moment, to ſatisfy their voracious appetites.

Thus ended our bloody battle with the beaſts, having killed threeſcore of them, and ſaved our lives from their fury. We ſtill had a league to go farther, when, as we went, our ears were ſaluted with their moſt unwelcome howlings, expecting every moment another attack. But, in an hour's time, we arrived ſafe at the town where we were to lodge; and here we found the place ſtrictly guarded, and all in terrible confuſion, as well they might, by reaſon of the bears and wolves breaking into the village, in order to prey upon their cattle and people. The next morning we were obliged to take a new guide, by reaſon the other fell very bad of his wounds which he had received, as before mentioned. After we had reached *Thouloufe*, we came into a warm, pleaſant, and fruitful country, not infeſted with wolves, nor any ſort of ravenous creatures: And when we told our ſtory there, they much blamed our guide, for conducting us through the foreſt at the foot of the mountains, and in ſuch a ſevere ſeaſon, when the ſnow obliged them to ſeek for ſhelter in the woods. When we informed them in what manner we placed ourſelves, and the horſes in the centre, then they exceedingly reprehended us, and told us, it was an hundred to one but we had all been deſtroyed; for that it was the ſight of the horſes, their ſo much deſired prey, made the wolves more raginglyfurious than they would have been; which was evident, by their being at other times really afraid of a gun; but then, being exceedingly hungry and furious upon that account, their eagerneſs to come at the horſes made them inſenſible of their danger; and that if we had not by a continual fire, and at laſt, by the cunning ſtratagem of the train of powder, got the power over them, it had been great odds if their number had not overpowered us: Beſides, it was a great mercy we alighted from our horſes, and fought them with that courage and conduct, which, had we failed to do, every man of us, with our beaſts, had been devoured. And indeed this was nothing but the truth; for, never in my life was I ſo ſenſible of danger, as when 300 devils came roaring upon us; to ſhun whoſe unwelcome company, if I was ſure to meet a ſtorm every week, I would rather go a thouſand leagues by ſea.

I think

I think I have nothing uncommon in my paſſage through *France* to take notice of, ſince other travellers of greater learning and ingenuity, have given a more ample account, than my pen is able to ſet forth. From *Thouloufe* I travelled to *Paris*, from thence to *Calais*, where I took ſhipping, and landed at *Dover* the 14th of *January*, in a very cold ſeaſon.

Thus come to the centre of my travels, I ſoon diſcovered my new found eſtate, and all the bills of exchange I had brought were currently paid. The good ancient widow, my only Privy Counſellor, thought no pains or care too great to procure my advantage; nor had I ever occaſion to blame her fidelity, which drew from me an ample reward. I was for leaving my effects in her hands, intending to ſet out for *Liſbon*, and ſo to the *Braſils*; but as in the deſolate Iſland I had ſome doubts about the Romiſh religion, ſo I knew there was little encouragement to ſettle there, without I would apoſtatize from the orthodox faith, or live in continual fear of the inquiſition. Upon this account I reſolved to ſell my plantation, and to this intent I wrote to my old friend at *Liſbon*, who returned me an anſwer, to my great ſatisfaction, which was, that he could readily ſell it there; However, if I thought it convenient to give him liberty to offer it in my name to the two merchants, the ſurvivors of my truſtees, reſiding at the *Braſils*, who conſequently underſtood its intrinſic value, having lived juſt upon the ſpot, and who I was ſenſible were very rich, and therefore might be the more willing to purchaſe it; he did not in the leaſt doubt, but I ſhould make 4 or 5000 pieces of eight more of it, than I ſhould do if I diſpoſed of it any other manner whatſoever.

You may be ſure I could not but agree with this kind and ingenuous propoſal; and immediately I ſent him an order to offer it unto them, which he accordingly did: So that about eight months after, the ſhip being in that time returned, he gave me a ſatisfactory account that they not only willingly accepted the offer, but that they had alſo remitted thirty three thouſand pieces of eight, to a correſpondent of their own at *Liſbon*, in order to pay for its purchaſe.

Hereupon, in return, I ſigned the inſtrument of ſale, according to form, which they had ſent from *Liſbon*, and returned it again to my old friend, he having ſent me, for my eſtate, bills of three hundred twenty eight thouſand pieces of eight, reſerving the payment of one hundred moidores *per annum*, which I had allowed him during life, as alſo fifty to his ſon during life, according to my faithful promiſe, which the plantation was to make good as rent charge.

And thus having led my reader to the knowledge of the firſt part of my life, ſo remarkable for the many peculiar providences that attended it, floating in an ocean of uncertainty and

diſappointment,

disappointment, of adversity and prosperity, beginning foolishly, and yet ending happily; methinks, now I am come to a safe and pleasant haven, 'tis time to cast out my anchor, and laying up my vessel, bid (for a while) adieu to foreign adventures. I had now other concerns to look after, the care of my brother's two sons, which, with the good widow's persuasions, obliged me to continue at home seven years. One of these children I bred up a gentleman, and the other an experienced sailor, remarkable for his courage and bravery. Besides this I married a virtuous young gentlewoman, of a very good family, by whom I had two sons and one daughter. But my dear and tender wife leaving this earthly stage (as you will hear in the second part of my life, which rending my soul as it were asunder) my native country became as it were tiresome to me: And my nephew happening to come from sea, tempted me to venture another voyage to the *East Indies*, which I did in the year 1664, at which time I visited my island, and informed myself of every thing that happened since my departure.

One might reasonably imagine, that what I had suffered, together with an advanced age, and the fear of losing not only what I had gotten, but my life also, might have choaked up all the seeds of youthful ambition and curiosity, and put a lasting period to my wandering inclinations. But, as nothing but death can fully allay the active part of my life, no less remarkable for the many various contingencies of it: You will there perceive how I visited my little kingdom, saw my successors the *Spaniards*, had an account of the usage they met with from the *Englishmen*, agreeing and disagreeing, uniting and separating, till at last they were subjected to the *Spaniards*, who yet used them very honourably; together with the wonderful and successful battles over the *Indians*, who invaded, and thought to have conquered the Island, but were repelled by their invincible courage and bravery, having taken eleven men and five women prisoners; by which, at my return, I found about twenty young children on my little kingdom. Here I stayed twenty days, left them supplies of all necessary things, as also a carpenter and smith, and shared the island into parts, reserving the whole property to myself. Nor will you be insensible, by the account of these things, of several new adventures I have been engaged in, the battles I have fought, the deliverances I have made thereon: And while, in the surprizing relation of such remarkable occurrences, I shall describe many of God's kindest providences to me in particular; no less conspicuous in the same goodness, power and majesty of our great Creator, shews, one way or other, over the face of the earth.

THE FURTHER ADVENTURES OF ROBINSON CRUSOE.

Wherein are contained several strange and surprising Accounts of his Travels, and most remarkable Transactions, both by Sea and Land.

WHEN we consider the puissant force of nature, and what mighty influence it has many times over the temper of the mind; it will be no such great wonder to think that my powerful reason should be overcome by a much stronger inclination. My late acquired kingdom ran continually in my thoughts all the day, and I dreamt of it in the night; nay, I made it the continual subject of my talk, even to impertinence, when I was awake. I had such vapours in my head, that I actually supposed myself at my castle: That I not only perceived *Friday*'s father, the old *Spaniard*, and the wicked sailors; but that I talked and discoursed with them about their manner of living: That I heard those things related to me, which I found afterwards to be but too true; and that I executed my judgments with the greatest severity upon the offenders. And indeed this anticipating all the pleasing joys of my life, scarcely afforded me one pleasant hour; my dear and tender wife could not but take notice of it, which drew these affectionate speeches from her: *My dear*, said she, *I am really persuaded that some secret impulse from heaven occasions in you a determination to see the island again: Nor am I less sensible, but your being engaged to me and these dear children, is the only hindrance of your departure. I know, my dear, if I was in the grave, you would not long continue at home: Prevent not your happiness upon my account, whose only comfort centres in you. All that I can object is, that such an hazardous undertaking is no way consistent with a person of your years; but if you are resolved to go,* (added she weeping) *only permit me to bear you company, and that is all that I desire.*

Such

Such endearing tenderneſs, graced with the moſt innocent, and yet moſt powerful charms, brought me inſenſibly into my right underſtanding: And when I conſidered all the tranſactions of my life, and particularly my new engagement; that I had now one child born, and my wife big of another; and that I had no occaſion to ſeek for more riches, who already was bleſſed with ſufficiency; with much ſtruggling, I altered my reſolutions at laſt, reſolving to apply myſelf to ſome buſineſs or other, which might put a period to ſuch wandering inclinations. Hereupon I bought a little farm in the county of *Bedford*, with a reſolution to move thither: Upon this there was a pretty convenient houſe, ſurrounded with land, very capable of improvement, which ſuited my temper, as to planting, managing and cultivating. Nor was I long before I entered upon my new ſettlement, having bought ploughs, harrows, cart, waggon, horſes, cows, and ſheep; ſo that I now led the life of a country gentleman, and was as happy in my retirement as the greateſt monarch in the world. And what made me think my happineſs the greater was, that I was in that middle ſtate of life which my father had ſo often recommended, much reſembling the felicity of a rural retirement, which is elegantly deſcribed by the poet in theſe lines:

Free from all vices, free from care,
Age has no pain, and youth no ſnare.

But in the midſt of this my chiefeſt happineſs, I was ſuddenly plunged in the greateſt ſorrow that I could poſſibly endure: For, when I leaſt expected it, my dear and tender wife was forced to ſubmit to the irreſiſtable power of death, leaving this tranſitory life for a better. It is impoſſible for me to expreſs the beauties of her mind, or the lovelineſs of her perſon; neither can I too much lament her loſs, which my lateſt breath ſhall record. Her influence was greater over me than the powers of my own reaſon, the importunities of friends, the inſtructions of a father, or the melting tears of a tender and diſconſolate mother: In a word ſhe was the ſtandard of all my affairs, the centre of my enterprizes, and the principal engine to direct me in the courſe to happineſs. But now, ſince the cruel hand of death had cloſed my deareſt's eyes, in my thoughts, I ſeemed a ſtranger to the world; my Privy Counſellor being gone, I was like a ſhip without a pilot, and that I could only run before the wind. And when I looked around me in this buſy world, one part labouring for bread, and the other ſquandering away their eſtates; this put me in mind how I had lived in my little kingdom, where reaſon and religion dictated to me, that there was ſomething that certainly was the reaſon and end of life, which was far ſuperior to what could be hoped for on this ſide the grave. My country delights were now as inſipid and dull as muſic or ſenſe to thoſe

who

who have neither taste or ingenuity. In short, resolving to leave off house keeping, I left my farm, and in a few months returned to *London*.

But neither could that great city, so famous for its variety of entertainments, afford me any agreeable delight. A state of idleness I found to be the very dregs of life, and most hurtful to body and soul. It was now the beginning of the year 1693, at which time my nephew (who I before observed had been brought up to the sea, advanced to be captain of a ship) was returned from a short voyage to *Bilboa*, the first he had made in that station. He comes to me one morning, telling me, that some merchants of his acquaintance had proposed to him to go a voyage for them to the *East Indies* and *China*, in the manner of private traders: *And now, Uncle*, said he, *if you'll accompany me thither, I'll engage to land you upon your old island, there to behold the state of your little kingdom.*

It was just before he came in, my thoughts were fixed to get a patent for its possession, and then to fill it with inhabitants. After I had paused a little while, and looked stedfastly on him, *What devil, or spirit*, said I, *sent you here with this unlucky errand?* He startled at first, but recovering himself, when he perceived I was not offended: Sir, replied he, what I have proposed cannot, I hope, be styled unlucky, since certainly you must be desirous to see your little territory, where you reigned with more content than any of your brother kings in the universe. Nephew, said I, if you will leave me there, and call for me as you come back, I care not if I give my consent: But he answered, that the merchants would not allow their vessel, laden with an infinite value, to return there again, which was a month's sail out of the way: Besides, Sir, said he, suppose I should miscarry, was your request granted, why then you would be in the same state as before. This indeed carried a great deal of reason in it, but we found out a remedy, and that was, to carry a framed sloop on board, ready to be set up in the island, by the assistance of some carpenters which we should carry with us, that would be fitted in a few days to go to sea. I was not long forming my resolution, which overswayed my good friend the widow's persuasions, and the natural affection I should bear to my young children. I made my will, and settled my estate in such a manner, that I was perfectly easy that the poor infants would have justice done them. The good widow not only undertook to make provision for my voyage, but also took the charge of my domestic affairs, and to provide for my children's education; and indeed no mother could take more care, or understood that office better, which I lived to reward, and to return her my hearty thanks for.

The beginning of *January* 1694-5, my nephew being ready to sail, I and *Friday* went on board in the *Downs* on the

8th;

8th; having, besides that sloop already mentioned, a very considerable cargo for my new colony. *First*, I had some servants, whom I proposed to leave there as inhabitants, or to work while I stayed there, as they should appear willing: There were two carpenters, a smith, and a very ingenious fellow who was jack of all trades; for he was not only a cooper by trade, but was also dexterous at making wheels and hand mills to grind corn, likewise a good turner and a good pot maker. I also carried a taylor, who consented to stay in my plantation, and proved a most necessary fellow in the island. As to my cargo, it consisted of a sufficient quantity of linen, and *English* stuffs, for clothing the *Spaniards* that I expected to find there; as likewise gloves, hats, shoes, stockings; together with beds, bedding, and houshold stuff, especially kitchen utensils, with pots, kettles, pewter, brass, &c. also nails, tools of all sorts, staples, hooks, hinges, and all other things necessary; all which, I think, cost me about £300. Nor was this all, for I carried an hundred spare arms, muskets, and fuzees, besides some pistols, a considerable quantity of several sorts of shot, two brass cannon, besides swords, cuirasses, and the iron part for some pikes and halberts; and I made my nephew take with us two small quarter deck guns more than he had occasion for in his ship, to leave behind, if there was a necessity: So that we might build a fort there, and man it against all opposers whatsoever.

Well, we put out to sea; and though I can't say this voyage was so unprosperous as my others had been, yet contrary winds drove us so far northward, that we were obliged to put in at *Galway* in *Ireland*, where we lay wind bound two and twenty days. Here indeed our provisions were very cheap, and we added to our ship's stores, by taking in several live hogs, two cows and calves, which I then resolved to put on shore in my island, if our necessities did not call for them. On the 5th of *February* we sailed from *Ireland*, with a very fair gale, which lasted for some days; and, I think it was about the 20th of the same month, late in the evening, when the mate informed us, that he saw a flash of fire, and heard a gun fired; and while he was speaking, a boy came in, and told us the boatswain heard another. Upon which, we all ran to the quarter deck, from whence, in a few minutes we perceived a terrible fire at a distance. We had immediate recourse to our reckonings, in which we were all of opinion that there could be no land that way, it appearing to be at *N. N. W.* Hereupon we concluded that some ship had taken fire at sea, and that it could not be far off, by the report of the guns which we had heard. We made up directly to it, and in half an hour's time, wind being fair, we could plainly perceive a great ship on fire in the middle of the sea. Touched with this unhappy disaster, and considering

ſidering my former circumſtances, when the *Portugueſe* captain took me up, I immediately ordered five guns to be fired, that the poor creatures (not ſeeing us, it being dark, as we could perceive their flame) might be ſenſible there was a deliverance at hand, and conſequently might endeavour to ſave themſelves in their boat. Nor was it long before the ſhip blew up in the air, and the fire extinguiſhed in the ocean. But ſuppoſing them all to be in their boats, we hung out all our lanthorns, and kept firing till eight o'clock in the morning; when, with our perſpective glaſſes, we beheld two boats, full of people, making towards us, though the tide was againſt them. Then ſpreading out our ancient, and hanging out a waſt as a ſignal for them to come on board, in half an hour's time we came up to them, and took them all in, there being no leſs than 64 men, women and children. It was a *French* merchant ſhip of 300 tons, homeward bound from *Quebeck* in the river of *Canada*. The maſter informed me, how by the negligence of the ſteerſman, the ſteerage was ſet on fire; that at his outcry for help, the fire was, as they thought, totally extinguiſhed; but that ſome ſparks getting between the timber and between the ceiling, it proceeded into the hold, where there was no reſiſting it, that then they got into their boats, as creatures in the laſt extremity, with what proviſion they had, together with oars, ſails, and a compaſs, intending to go back to *Newfoundland*, the wind blowing at *S. E.* and by *E.* though there were ſeveral chances againſt them, as ſtorms to overſet and founder them, rains and cold to benumb and periſh their limbs, and contrary winds to keep them out and ſtarve them: But, ſaid he, in this our great diſtreſs, we heard the welcome report of your guns, when, with unſpeakable joy, taking down our maſts and ſails, we were reſolved to lie by till morning; but perceiving your light, we ſet our oars at work to keep our boat a head, the ſooner to attain your ſhip, the happy inſtrument of our deliverance.

Indeed no one can expreſs the joy of theſe poor creatures on this occaſion: Fear and grief are eaſily ſet forth; Sighs and tears, with a few motions of the hands and head, make up the ſum of its variety: But an exceſs or ſurpriſe of joy carries in it a thouſand extravagances; eſpecially, I think, amongſt the *French*, whoſe temper is allowed to be more volatile, paſſionate, ſprightly and fluid, than in other kingdoms. Some were either weeping, tearing themſelves in the greateſt agonies of ſorrow, and running ſtark raving mad about the ſhip; while the reſt were ſtamping with their feet, wringing their hands, ſinging, laughing, ſwooning away, vomiting, fainting; and a few returning hearty thanks to the Almighty, and croſſing themſelves. I think, if I am not miſtaken, our ſurgeon was obliged to let thirty of them blood. But among the paſſengers

there

there were two priefis, the one an old, and the other a young man; but what amazed me more, the oldeft was the worft: For, no fooner did he perceive himfelf freed from danger, but he dropped down as it were without life, and to every one's appearance, quite dead; but the furgeon, chafing and rubbing his arm, he opened a vein, which at firft dropped, and then flowing more freely, the old man began to open his eyes, and in a quarter of an hour was well again But foon revolving his happy change, the joy of which whirled his fpirits about faftar than the veffels could convey them, his blood became fo feverifh, as made him more fit for bedlam than any other place; but the furgeon giving him a fleepy dofe, he was perfectly compofed next morning.

Remarkable indeed was the behaviour of the young prieft. At his entrance on board the fhip, he fell on his face in the moft humble proftration to the Almighty. I thought indeed he had fallen into a fwoon, and fo ran to help him up; but he modeftly told me, he was returning his thanks to the Almighty, defiring me to leave him a few moments, and that, next to his Creator, he would return me thanks alfo. And indeed he did fo about three minutes after, with great ferioufnefs and affection, though the tears ftood in his eyes, which confirmed the gratitude of his foul. Nor did he lefs fhew his piety and wifdom, in applying himfelf to his country people, and labouring to compofe them by the moft powerful reafons, arguments, and perfuafions. And when indeed thefe people had taken their night's repofe, in fuch convenient lodgings as our fhip would allow, we found nothing but the beft of manners, and the moft civil acknowledgments, for which the *French* are eminently remarkable. The next day the captain and one of the priefts, defired to fpeak with me and my nephew the commander. They told us they had faved fome money and valuable things out of the ruined veffel, which was at our fervice, only that they defired to be fet on fhore fome where in our way. At the firft, my nephew was for accepting the money; but I, (who knew how hard my cafe could have been, had the *Portuguefe* captain ferved me fo) perfuaded him to the contrary; and therefore told them, that as we had done nothing but what we were obliged to do by reafon and humanity, and what we ourfelves might expect from others in fuch calamity; fo we took them up to fave them, not to plunder them or leave them naked upon the land, to perifh for want of fubfiftence, and therefore would not accept their money: But as to landing them, that was a great difficulty; for being bound to the *Eaft-Indies*, it was impoffible wilfully to change our voyage upon this particular account, nor my nephew (who was under charter party to purfue it by way of *Brâfil*) anfwer it to the freighters. All that we could do was, to put our-

felves

ſelves in the way of meeting ſome ſhips homeward bound from the *Weſt-Indies*, that if poſſible they might get a paſſage to *France* or *England*. Indeed they were very thankful for our firſt kindneſs; but were under great concern, eſpecially their paſſengers, at their being carried to the *Eaſt Indies*. They begged therefore I would keep on the banks of *Newfoundland*, where probably they might meet with ſome ſhip or ſloop to carry them to *Canada*, whence they came. As this was but a reaſonable requeſt, I was inclined to grant it, ſince it was no breach of charter party; and that the laws of God and nature obliged us to do what good we could to our fellow creatures; and beſides, the danger we ourſelves ſhould be in for want of proviſions: So we conſented to carry them to *Newfoundland*, if wind and weather would permit; if not, that we ſhould carry them to *Martinico* in the *Weſt Indies*. But, as it happened, in a week's time, we made the banks of *Newfoundland*, where the *French* people hired a bark to carry them to *France*. But the young prieſt being deſirous to go to the *Eaſt Indies*, I readily agreed to it, becauſe I liked his converſation; and two or three of the *French* ſailors alſo entered themſelves on board our ſhip.

Now directing our courſe for the *Weſt Indies*, ſteering *S.* and *S.* by *E.* about twenty days with little wind, another adventure happened to exerciſe our humanity. In the latitude of 27 degrees 5 m. north, the 19th of *March* 1694-5, we perceived a ſail, (our courſe *S. E.* and by *S.*) which bore up to us, and then ſhe appeared to be a large veſſel, having loſt her main topmaſt, fore maſt, and bow ſprit, when firing a gun, as a ſignal of diſtreſs, wind *N. N. W.* we ſoon came to ſpeak with her. She was a ſhip of *Briſtol*, bound home from *Barbadoes*, out of which road ſhe had been forced by a hurricane to the weſtward, in which they loſt their maſts: They told us, their expectations were to ſee the *Bahama* Iſlands, but were driven away by a ſtrong wind at *N. N. W.* and having no ſails, to work the ſhip with, but the main courſe and a kind of ſquare ſail upon a jury fore maſt, becauſe they could come near the land, were endeavouring to ſtand for the *Canaries*. Nay, what was worſe, beſides all their fatigue, they were almoſt ſtarved for want of proviſion, having ate nothing for eleven days; all that they had a board was ſugar, a caſk of freſh water, and ſeven caſks of rum. In this ſhip were three paſſengers; a youth, his mother, and a maid ſervant, who were in a moſt deplorable condition for want of food. If I had not gone on board their ſhip, this knowledge of their miſery had been concealed from me, and they would have inevitably periſhed, though indeed their ſecond mate (who was captain, by reaſon the true captain was not on board when the hurricane happened) had before informed me, that there were ſuch perſons on board,

board, whom he ſuppoſed to be dead, being afraid to enquire after them, becauſe he had nothing to give them for relief. Hereupon we reſolved to let them have what we could ſpare, ordering the mate to bring ſome of his men on board us, which he accordingly did, yet both he and they looked like ſkeletons; and when meat was ſet before them, I ordered them to eat ſparingly. But, however, they ſoon fell ſick, which obliged the ſurgeon to mix ſomething in their broth, that was to be to them both food and phyſic. When they were fed, we ordered our mate to carry them a ſack of bread, and four or five pieces of beef to boil; but the ſurgeon charged them to ſee it boiled, and to keep a guard in the cook room, to prevent the men eating it raw, and conſequently kill themſelves with what was deſigned for their relief. But particularly I deſired the mate to ſee what condition the poor paſſengers were in, and the ſurgeon gave him a pitcher of the ſame broth which he had prepared for the men: And being curious to ſee this ſcene of miſery myſelf, I took the captain, (as we called the mate of the ſhip) in our own boat, and ſailed after them.

Here was a ſad ſight indeed! Scarce was the victuals half boiled in the pot, but they were ready to break open the cook room door. To ſtay their ſtomachs, the mate gave them biſcuits, which were dipt in, and ſoftened with the liquor of the meat, which they call *Brewis*; telling them it was for their own ſafety, that he was obliged to give them but a little at a time; and ſo feeding them gradually, their bellies were comfortably filled, and the men did very well again. But when they came to the poor gentlewoman in the cabin, who for ſeveral days continued without food, giving what ſhe had to her ſon, they found her as it were in the arms of death. She was ſitting upon the floor of the deck, with her back up againſt the ſides, between two chairs, which were laſhed faſt, and her head ſhrunk between her ſhoulders, like a ſenſeleſs corps. Nothing was wanting in my mate to revive and encourage her, opening her lips, and putting ſome broth into her mouth with a ſpoon. But not having ſtrength to ſpeak, ſhe lifted up her head with much difficulty, intimating that it was now too late; at the ſame time pointing to the youth, her ſon, as though ſhe deſired him to do what he could to ſave him; and, in a little time after, ſhe died.

The youth indeed was not ſo far gone; yet lay ſtretched out in a cabin bed like one that had ſcarce any life: In his mouth was a piece of an old glove, the reſt of which he had ate up. A-firſt he vomited up what the mate had given him; but at length began ſenſibly to revive, though in the greateſt concern for the death of his tender mother.

As to the poor maid ſhe lay by her miſtreſs like one in the lateſt pangs of death: Her limbs were diſtorted, one of her

hands were claſped round the frame of a chair, which ſhe graſped ſo hard, that it was with ſome difficulty we ſeparated her from it; her other arm lay over her head, and her feet lay both together, ſet faſt againſt the frame of the cabin table; not only being ſtarved with hunger, but overcome with grief for the loſs of her miſtreſs, whom ſhe loved moſt tenderly. It was a great while before the ſurgeon could bring her to life, and a much longer time before ſhe came to her ſenſes.

After we had ſailed with them ſome days, we ſent them five barrels of beef, one of pork, two hogſheads of biſcuit, with peaſe, flour, and other things, taking three caſks of ſugar, ſome rum, and ſome pieces of eight for ſatisfaction, we left them, but took the youth and maid with us, with all their goods. The lad was about 17 years old, very handſome, modeſt, ſenſible, and well bred, but mightily concerned for the loſs of his honoured mother, having loſt his father at *Barbadoes* but a few months before. He beſeeched the ſurgeon to intercede with me to take him out of the ſhip; for that the ſailors, not ſparing a ſmall ſuſtenance, had murdered his mother. But hunger has no bounds, no right, and conſequently is incapable of any compaſſion. When the ſurgeon told him that our voyage might put him in bad circumſtances, and farther from his friends, he anſwered, he did not care ſo he was but delivered from that terrible crew: That as the captain (meaning me) had ſaved him from death, ſo he was ſure that he would do him no harm; and as for the maid, when ſhe was reſtored to her ſenſes, ſhe would be no leſs thankful, let us carry them where we would. And indeed the ſurgeon ſo repreſented their caſe to me, that I conſented, and took them on board, with all their goods, except 11 hogſheads of ſugar; but the youth having a bill of lading, I made the commander ſign a writing, to oblige him to deliver a letter and the deceaſed widow's goods to *Mr. Rogers*, a merchant at *Briſtol*: But I believe the ſhip was loſt at ſea, for we could never hear what became of her afterwards. We were now in the latitude of 19 deg. 32 min. having as yet a tolerable good voyage. But, paſſing by ſeveral little incidents relative to wind and weather, I ſhall relate what is more remarkable concerning my little kingdom, to which I was then drawing near. I had great difficulty in attaining it; for as I came to, and went from it before, on the ſouth and eaſt of the iſland, as coming from the *Braſils*; ſo now approaching between the main and the iſland, not having any chart of the coaſt, nor land mark, it obliged us to go on ſhore on ſeveral iſlands, on the mouth of the great river *Oroonoko*, but to no purpoſe. Then I perceived, that what I thought was a continent before, was no ſuch thing, but a long iſland, or rather a ridge of ſand. On one of theſe iſlands, I found ſome *Spaniards*, but they belonged to the iſland

of

of *Trinidad*, who came hither in a ſloop to make ſalt, and find ſome pearl muſcles, if they could. But at length I came fair on the ſouth ſide of my iſland, and then I preſently knew the countenance of my little kingdom; ſo we brought the ſhip ſafe to an anchor, with her broadſide to the little creek, where ſtood my ancient and venerable caſtle.

No ſooner did I ſee the place, but calling for *Friday*, I aſked him where he was? But when he looked a little, he clapped his hands, crying, *O joy, O there, O yes, O there!* pointing to our old abode, and then fell a dancing and capering as if he was mad; and I had much ado to keep him from jumping into the ſea, to ſwim aſhore. *Friday*, ſaid I, what do you think, ſhall we ſee your father? At the mentioning his father's name, the poor affectionate creature fell a weeping: *No no*, (ſays he) *me ſee him no more, never ſee poor father more! he long ago die, die long ago; he much old man.* You don't know that, *Friday*, ſaid I, but ſhall we ſee any body elſe? He looks about, and pointing to the hill above my houſe, he cries out, *We ſee! we ſee! there much men, and there!* which though I could not perceive them with my perſpective glaſs, was true, by what the men themſelves told me the next day.

When the *Engliſh* ancient was ſpread, and three guns fired as a ſignal of friendſhip, we perceived a ſmoke riſe from the creek; upon which I ordered the boat out, taking *Friday* with me, and, hanging out a white flag of truce, I went on ſhore, accompanied alſo by the young Friar, to whom I had related the hiſtory of the firſt part of my life. Beſides, we had ſixteen men well armed, in caſe we had met with any oppoſition.

After we had rowed directly into the creek, the firſt man I fixed my eyes upon was the *Spaniard*, whoſe life I had ſaved, and whoſe face I perfectly well knew. I ordered them all to ſtay in the boat for a while; but *Friday*, perceiving his father at a diſtance, would have jumped into the ſea had they not let him go. No ſooner was he on ſhore, but he flew like a ſwift arrow out of a bow, to embrace his ancient father. Certainly it would melt a man of the firmeſt reſolution, into the ſofteſt tears, to ſee with what uncommon tranſports of joy he ſaluted him. He firſt kiſſed him, then ſtroked his face, took him in his arms, laid him under a ſhady tree, ſat down by him, then looked as earneſtly at him as one would do at a picture, for a quarter of an hour together. After this he would lie upon the ground, ſtroke his legs, and kiſs them, then get up and ſtare at him as though he was bewitched: But the next day one could not forbear laughter, to ſee his behaviour; for he would walk ſeveral hours with his father along the ſhore, leading him by the hand as though he was a lady, while every now and then he would run to the boat to get ſomething for him; as a lump of ſugar, dram, biſcuit, or ſomething or other that

was

was good. His frolicks ran in another channel in the afternoon; for, when he ſet old *Friday* on the ground, he would dance round him, making comical poſtures and geſtures; and all this while would be telling him one ſtory or other of his travels and adventures.

It was on the 10th of *April*, Anno 1695, that I ſet my foot upon the iſland a ſecond time. When my faithful *Spaniard*, accompanied by one more, approached the boat. He little knew who I was, till I diſcovered myſelf to him: *Signior*, ſaid I, in *Portugueſe*, don't you know me? He ſpoke never a word; but, giving his muſket to his attendant, extended his arms, and ſaying ſomething in *Spaniſh* that I did not then underſtand, he came forward and embraced me; ſaying, he was inexcuſable, not to know his deliverer, who, like an angel ſent from heaven, had ſaved his life. He then beckoned to the man to call out his companions: aſking me if I would walk to my own habitation, and take poſſeſſion, where I ſhould find ſome mean improvements; but indeed they were extraordinary ones; for they had planted ſo many trees, ſo cloſe together, that the place was like a labyrinth, which none could find out except themſelves, who knew its intricate windings. I aſked him the meaning of all theſe fortifications; he told me, he would give me a large account of what had paſt ſince my departure to this time, and how he had ſubdued ſome *Engliſh* who thought to be their murderers, hoping I would not be diſpleaſed, ſince neceſſity compelled them to it. As I knew they were wicked villains, I told him, that I was not only far from finding fault with it, but was rather heartily glad they had ſubdued them. But while we were talking, the man whom he had ſent returned, accompanied by eleven more; but in ſuch habits, that it was impoſſible to tell what nations they were of. He firſt turned to me, pointing to them: Theſe, Sir, ſaid he, are ſome of the gentlemen who owe their lives to your goodneſs; and then turning to them, and pointing to me, he made them ſenſible who I was: And then indeed they ſaluted me one by one, not as ordinary men, but as though they had been ambaſſadors of noblemen, and I a triumphant conquerer: For their behaviour not only agreed with a manlike, majeſtic gravity, but, at the ſame time, was ſo obliging and courteous, as made them admirable to the laſt degree.

Before I relate the hiſtory of the tranſactions of my kingdom, as I had it from the *Spaniard*'s own mouth, I muſt here inſert what I omitted in my former relation. The matter is this: Juſt before we weighed anchor to ſet ſail, there happened a quarrel on board the ſhip, which had like to have occaſioned a ſecond mutiny, till ſuch time as the courageous captain, taking two of the moſt refractory priſoners, he laid them in irons, threatening them, as they were concerned in the form-

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er diſorders, to have them hanged in *England* for running away with the ſhip. This frightened ſome of the reſt, as thinking the captain would ſerve them in the ſame manner, though he ſeemed to give them good words for the preſent. But the mate, having intelligence of this, made me acquainted with their fears; ſo that to make them more eaſy, and ourſelves more ſafe from their conſpiracies, I was obliged to go down, and paſs my *Honour*'s word for it, that, upon their good behaviour, all that was paſt ſhould be pardoned; in teſtimony of which I ordered the two men's irons to be taken off, and themſelves forgiven. But as this had brought us to an anchor that night, in which there was a calm, the two men that had been in irons, ſtole each of them a muſket, and ſome other weapons, and taking the ſhip's pinnace, not yet hawled up, ran away to their brother rogues. The next morning we ſent the long boat, with men to purſue them, but all in vain. The mate, in revenge, would have demoliſhed my little caſtle, burnt its furniture, and deſtroyed their plantations; but having no orders for it, he did not put it in execution. And thus there were five *Engliſhmen* in the iſland, which cauſed great differences, as my faithful *Spaniard* gave me a perfect account of in the following manner:

You cannot, Sir, but remember the embaſſy you ſent me about, and what a diſappointment we met with, by your abſence, at our return. There is but little variety in the relation of our voyage, being bleſt with calm weather and a ſmooth ſea. Great indeed was the joy of my countrymen, on ſeeing me alive, having acted as the principal man on board, the captain of the ſhipwrecked veſſel dying before; nor was their ſurpriſe leſs, who knowing I was taken priſoner by the ſavages of another nation, thought me long ſince entombed in their monſtrous bowels. But, when I ſhewed them the arms, ammunition, and proviſion I had brought for them, they looked upon me as a ſecond *Joſeph* advanced in *Pharaoh*'s court, and immediately prepared to come along with me. Indeed, they were obliged to treſpaſs upon their friendly ſavages, by borrowing two of their canoes, under a pretext for fiſhing; and they came away the next morning, but without any proviſions of their own, except a few roots, which ſerved them inſtead of bread. After three week's abſence, we arrived at our habitation. Here we met with three *Engliſh* ſailors, who, I confeſs, gave us proviſions, and that letter of directions you had left for us, which informed us, how to bring up tame goats, plant corn, cure grapes, make pots; and, in ſhort, every thing that was neceſſary for our uſe; as I in particular, knew your method beſt, I took *Friday*'s father to aſſiſt me, and ſo we managed all the affairs. Nor were the reſt of the *Spaniards* wanting in their kind offices, dreſſing food for the *Engliſh-*

men, who did nothing but ramble and divert themſelves in the woods, either ſhooting parrots, or catching tortoiſes. But we had not been long aſhore, before we were informed of two more *Engliſhmen*, unnaturally turned out of their common place of reſidence, by the three others above mentioned: This made my *Spaniards* and me (whom they looked upon as their Governour, in your abſence) endeavour to perſuade them to take them in, that we might be as one family; but all our entreaties were in vain; ſo that the poor fellows, finding nothing to be done without induſtry, pitched their tents on the north ſide of the iſland, a little inclining to the weſt, for fear of ſavages. Here they built two huts, one to lodge, and the other to lay their ſtores in; for my good natured *Spaniards* giving them ſome ſeed, they dug and planted as I had done, and began to live prettily. But while they were going on thus comfortably, the three unnatural brutes, their countrymen, in a mere bullying humour, inſulted them, by ſaying the Governour (meaning you) had given them poſſeſſion of the iſland, and, damn them, they ſhould build no houſes upon their ground, without paying rent. The two honeſt men (for ſo let me now diſtinguiſh them) thought their three countrymen only jeſted, and one of them invited them in, to ſee their fine habitations; while the other facetiouſly told them, that ſince they built tenements, with great improvements, they ſhould, according to the cuſtom of landlords, give them a longer leaſe; at the ſame time deſiring them to fetch a ſcrivener to draw the writings. One of the wretches, ſwearing he ſhould pay for the jeſt, ſnatches up a fire brand, and clapping it to the outſide of their hut, very fairly ſet it on fire, which ſoon would have been conſumed, had not the honeſt man thruſt him away, and trod it out with his feet. Hereupon the fellow returns with a pole, with which he would have ended his days, had not the poor man avoided the blow; when fetching his muſket, he knocked the villain down that began the quarrel. The other two, coming to aſſiſt their fellow, obliged the other honeſt man to take his muſket alſo, and both, preſenting their pieces, bid the villains ſtand off; and if they did not lay down their arms, death ſhould decide the diſpute one way or other. This brought them to a parley, in which they agreed to take their wounded man, and be gone; but they were in the wrong that they did not diſarm them when they had the power, and then make their complaint to me and my *Spaniards* for juſtice, which might have prevented their farther deſigns againſt them. And indeed ſo many treſpaſſes did they commit after, by treading down their corn, ſhooting their young kids and goats, and plaguing them night and day, that they reſolved to come to my caſtle, challenge all the three, and decide their rights by one plain battle, while the *Spaniards* ſtood by to ſee fair play. One day it happened,

pened, that two of my *Spaniards* (one of whom underſtood *Engliſh)* being in the woods, were met by one of the honeſt men, who complained how barbarous their countrymen had been, in deſtroying their corn, killing their milch goat and three kids, which deprived them of their ſubſiſtence; that if we did not grant them relief, they muſt be inevitably ſtarved; and ſo they parted: But when my *Spaniards* came home at night, and ſupper being on the table, one of them began to reprehend the *Engliſhmen*, but in a very mannerly way; which they reſenting, replied, What buſineſs had their countrymen there without leave? and that it was none of their ground. Why, ſaid my *Spaniard* calmly, *Ingleſe* they muſt not ſtarve: But they replied, Let them ſtarve and be damned, they ſhould neither plant nor build; and damn them, they ſhould be their ſervants, and work for them; for the iſland was theirs, and they would burn all the huts they ſhould find on the land. By this rule (ſaid my *Spaniard* ſmiling) we ſhall be your ſervants too? Aye, by God, and ſo you ſhall, replied the impudent raſcal. Upon which, *Will. Atkins* ſtarting up, cries, come, *Jack*, lets have t'other bruſh with them; who dare build in our dominions? Thus, leaving us ſomething heated with a juſt paſſion, away they trooped, every man having a gun, piſtol, and ſword, muttering ſome threatening words, that we could then but imperfectly underſtand. That night they deſigned to murder their two companions, and ſlept till midnight in the bower, thinking to take them upon them in their ſleep: Nor were the honeſt men leſs thoughtful concerning them; for at this juncture they were coming to find them out, but in a much fairer way. As ſoon as the villains came to the huts, and found nobody there, they concluded, that I and my *Spaniards* had given them notice, and therefore ſwore to be revenged on us. Then they demoliſhed the poor men's habitation, not by fire, as they attempted before, but pulled down their houſes limb from limb, not leaving a ſtick nor ſtone on the ground where they ſtood; broke their houſhold ſtuff in pieces, tore up their trees, ſpoiled their encloſure; and, in ſhort, quite ruined them of every thing they had. Had theſe people met together, no doubt but there would have been a bloody battle; but Providence ordered it for the better: For juſt as the three were got thither, the two were at our caſtle; and when they left us, the three came back again, ſcoffingly telling us what they had done; when one, taking hold of the *Spaniard*'s hat, twirls it round, ſaying, *And you, Seignior* Jack Spaniard, *ſhall have the ſame ſauce, if you don't mend your manners.* My *Spaniard*, a grave, but a courageous man, knocked him down with one blow of his fiſt; at which, another villain fired his piſtol, and narrowly miſſed his body, but wounded him a little in the ear. The *Spaniard*, enraged hereat, takes up the fellow's muſket

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whom he had knocked down, and would have ſhot him, if I and the reſt had not come out, and taken their arms from every one of them.

Theſe *Engliſhmen*, perceiving they had made all of us their enemies, began to cool: but notwithſtanding their better words, the *Spaniards* would not return them their arms again; telling them they would do no manner of harm, if they would live peaceably; but if they offered any injury to the plantation or caſtle, they would ſhoot them as they would do ravenous beaſts This made them ſo mad, that they went away raging like the furies of hell. They were no ſooner gone, but in came the two honeſt men, fired with the juſteſt rage, if ſuch can be, having been ruined as aforeſaid; and indeed it was very hard, that nineteen of us ſhould be bullied by three villains, continually offending with impunity.

It was a great while, Sir, before we could perſuade the two *Engliſhmen* from purſuing, and undoubtedly killing them with their fire arms; but we promiſed them juſtice ſhould be done them, and in the mean time they ſhould reſide with us in our own habitation. In about five days after, theſe three vagrants, almoſt ſtarved with hunger, drew near our grove; and perceiving me, the Governour, and two others, walking by the ſide of the creek, they very ſubmiſſively deſired to be received into the family again. We told them of their great incivility to us, and of their unnatural barbarity to their countrymen; but yet we would ſee what the reſt agreed to, and would bring them word in half an hour. After ſome debate, we called them in, where their two countrymen laid a heavy charge againſt them, for not only ruining, but deſigning to murder them, which they could not deny. But here I was forced to interpoſe as a mediator; by obliging the two *Engliſhmen* not to hurt them, being naked and unarmed; and that the other three ſhould make them reſtitution, by building their two huts, and fencing their ground in the ſame manner as it was before. Well, being in a miſerable condition, they ſubmitted to this at preſent, and lived ſome time regularly enough, except to the working part, which they did not care for; but the *Spaniards* would have diſpenſed with that, had they continued eaſy and quiet. Their arms being given to them again, they ſcarce had them a week, till they became as troubleſome as ever; but an accident happening ſoon after, obliged us to lay aſide private reſentments, and look to our common preſervation.

One night, Sir, I went to bed perfectly well in health, and yet by no means could I compoſe myſelf to ſleep: Upon which, being very uneaſy, I got up, and looked out, but it being dark, could perceive nothing but the trees around our caſtle: I went to bed again, but it was all one, I could not ſleep; when

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one of my *Spaniards* hearing me walk about, asked me, who is that up? I answered, 'tis I; when I told him the occasion; Sir, said he, such things are not to be slighted; for certainly there is some mischief plotting near us. Where are the *Englishmen?* said I. He answered, in their huts: for they lay separate from us, Sir, since the last mutiny. Well, said I, some kind spirit gives this information for our advantage. Come let us look abroad, and something may offer to justify our pains. Upon which I and some of my *Spaniards* went up to the mountain, not by the ladder, but through the grove; and then we were struck into a panic fear by seeing a light, as though it were a fire, at a very little distance, and hearing the voices of several men. Hereupon we retreated immediately, and raising the rest of our forces, made them sensible of the impending danger: But, with all my authority, I could not make them stay where they were, so earnest were they to see how things went; though indeed the darkness of the night gave them opportunity enough to view them (by the light of the fire) undiscovered. As they were different parties, and straggling over the shore, we were much afraid that they should find out our habitation, and destroy our flocks of goats: To prevent which, we sent one *Englishman* and two *Spaniards* to drive the goats into the valley where the cave lay; or, if there was occasion, into the cave itself. As to our own parts, resuming our native courage and prudent conduct, had they not been divided, we durst venture to attack an hundred of them. But before it was yet light, we resolved to send out *Friday*'s father as a spy; who, immediately stripping himself naked, gets among them undiscovered, and in two hours time, brings word, that they were two parties, of two different nations, who, having lately a bloody battle with one another, happened to land by mere chance on the same island, to devour their miserable prisoners; that they were entirely ignorant of any person's inhabiting here; but rather, being filled with rage and fury against one another, he believed that as soon as daylight appeared, there would be a terrible engagement. Old *Friday* had scarce ended his relation, but we heard an uncommon noise, and perceived that there was an horrid engagement between the two armies.

Such was the curiosity of our party, especially the *Englishmen*, that they would not lie close, though Old *Friday* told them their safety depended upon it; and that if we had patience, we should behold the savages kill one another. However they used some caution, by going farther into the woods, and placing themselves in a convenient place to behold the battle.

Never could be a more bloody engagement, nor men of more invincible spirits and prudent conduct, according to

their

their way and manner of fighting. It lafted near two hours, till that party which was neareft our caftle began to decline, and at laft to fly from their conquerors. We were undoubtedly, Sir, put into a great confternation on this account, left they fhould run into our grove, and, confequently, bring us into the like danger. Hereupon we refolved to kill the firft that came, to prevent difcovery; and that too with our fwords and the but end of our mufkets, for fear the report of our guns fhould be heard.

And fo indeed it happened as we thought; for three of the vanquifhed army croffing the creek, ran directly to the place; as to a thick wood for fhelter; nor was it long before our fcout gave us notice of it; as a fo that the victors did not think it fit to purfue them. Upon this, I would not fuffer them to be flain, but had them furprifed and taken by our party; and afterwards they proved very good fervants to us, being ftout young creatures, and able to do a great deal of work. The remainder of the conquered favages fled to their canoes, and put out into the ocean; while the conquerors, joining together, fhouted by way of triumph; and about three in the afternoon, they alfo embarked for their own nation. Thus we were freed at once, from the favages and our fears, not perceiving any of thefe creatures for fome confiderable time after. We found two and thirty men dead in the field of battle; fome were flain with long arrows, which we found flicking in their bodies; and the reft were killed with large unwieldy wooden fwords, which denoted their vaft ftrength; and of which we found feventeen, befides bows and arrows: But we could not find one wounded creature among them alive; for they either kill their enemies quite, or carry thofe wounded away with them.

This terrible fight tamed the *Englifhmen* for fome time; confidering how unfortunate they might have been, had they fallen into their hands, who would not only kill them as enemies, but alfo for food, as we do cattle: And, indeed, fo much did this naufeate their ftomachs, that it not only made them very fick, but more tractable to the common neceffary bufinefs of the whole fociety, planting, fowing, and reaping, with the greateft figns of amity and friendfhip: So that now, being all good friends, we began to confider of circumftances in general; and the firft thing we thought of was, Whether, as we perceived the favages haunted that fide of the ifland, and there being more retired parts of it, and yet as well fuited to our manner of living, and equally to our advantage, we ought not much rather to move our place of refidence, and plant it in a much fafer place, both for the fecurity of our corn and cattle?

After

After a long debate on this head, it was resolved, or rather voted, *nemine contradicente*, not to remove our ancient castle; and that for this very good reason, that some time or other we expected to hear from our supreme Governor (meaning you, Sir) whose messengers, not finding us there, might think the place demolished, and all his subjects destroyed by the savages.

As to the next concern relating to our corn and cattle, we consented to have them removed to the valley where the cave was, the land there being propereſt, and sufficient for both. But yet when we considered further, we altered one part of our resolution, which was to remove part of our cattle thither, and there plant only part of our corn; so that in case one part was destroyed, the other might be preserved. We took another resolution, which really had a great deal of prudence in it, and that was, in not trusting the three savages which we had taken prisoners, with any knowledge of the plantation we had made in that valley, or of what number of cattle, much less the cave, wherein we conveyed several arms, and two barrels of powder you left for us, at your departure from this island. But though we could not change our habitation, we resolved to make it more fortified and more secret. To this end, Sir, as you had planted trees at some distance before the entrance of your palace, so we, imitating your example, planted and filled up the whole space of ground, even to the banks of the creek, nay, into the very ooze where the tide flowed, not leaving a place for landing: And among those you had planted, we also intermingled so many short ones, all of which growing wonderfully fast and thick, scarce a little dog could find the way through them. Nor was this sufficient, as we thought, for we did the same to all the ground to the right and left of us, even to the top of the hill, without so much as a passage for ourselves, except by the ladder; which being taken down, nothing but what had wings, or witchcraft, could pretend to come near us. And indeed this was excellently well contrived, especially to serve that occasion, for which we afterwards found it necessary.

Thus we lived two years in a happy retirement, not having one visit from the savages all that time. Indeed one morning we had an alarm, which put us into some amazement; for a few of my *Spaniards* being out very early, perceived no less than twenty canoes as it were, coming on shore: upon which, returning home with great precipitation, they gave us the alarm, which obliged us to keep at home all that day, and the next, going out only in the night time to make our observations: But, as good luck would have it, they were upon another design, and did not land that time upon the island.

But

But now there happened another quarrel between the three wicked *Engliſhmen*, and ſome of my *Spaniards*. The occaſion was this: One of them being enraged at one of the ſavages, whom we had taken priſoner, for not being able to comprehend ſomething which he was ſhewing him, he ſnatches up a hatchet in a great fury, not to correct, but to kill him; but miſſing his head, he gave him ſuch a barbarous cut in his ſhoulder, that had like to have ſtruck off his arm; at which one of my good natured *Spaniards*, interpoſing between the *Engliſhman* and the poor ſavage, beſeeched the former not to murder the poor creature: But this kindneſs had like to have coſt the *Spaniard's* life; for the *Engliſhman* ſtruck at him in the ſame manner, which he nimbly and ſuddenly avoiding, returned ſuddenly upon him with his ſhovel, (being all at work about their corn land) and very fairly knocked the brutiſh creature down. Hereupon another *Engliſhman*, coming to his fellow's aſſiſtance, laid the good *Spaniard* on the earth; when immediately two others, coming to his relief, were attacked by the third *Engliſhman*, armed with an old cutlaſs, who wounded them both. But this uproar ſoon reached our ears, who ruſhing out upon them, took the three *Engliſhmen* priſoners: And then, our next queſtion was, what ſhould be done to ſuch mutinous and impudent fellows, ſo furious, deſperate and idle, that they were miſchievous to the higheſt degree, and conſequently not ſafe for the ſociety to let them live among them.

Now, Sir, as I was Governour in your abſence, ſo I alſo took the authority of a Judge, and having them brought before me, I told them, That if they had been of my country, I would hang every mother's ſon of them; but ſince it was an *Engliſhman* (meaning you, kind Sir,) to whom we were indebted for our preſervation and deliverance, I would, in gratitude, uſe them with all poſſible mildneſs; but, at the ſame time, leave them to the judgment of the two other *Engliſhmen*, who, I hoped, forgetting their reſentments, would deal impartially by them.'

Hereupon one of their countrymen ſtood up: *Sir*, ſaid he, *leave it not to us, for you may be ſenſible we have reaſon to ſentence them to the gallows: Beſides, Sir, this fellow*, Will Atkins, *and the two others, propoſed to us, that we might murder you all in your ſleep, which we would not conſent to; but knowing their inability, and your vigilance, we did not think fit to diſcover it before.*

How, Seignior, ſaid I, do you hear what is alleged againſt you? What can you ſay to juſtify ſo horrid an action as to murder us in cold blood? So far, Sir, was the wretch from denying it, that he ſwore, Damn him but he would do it ſtill. But what have we done to you, Seignior *Atkins*, ſaid I, or

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what will you gain by killing us? What shall we do to prevent you? Must we kill you, or you kill us? Why will you Seignior *Atkins* (said I, smiling) put us to such an unhappy *dilemma*, such a fatal necessity? But so great a rage did my scoffing, and yet severe jest put him into, that he was going to fly at me, and undoubtedly had attempted to kill me, if possessed of weapons, and had not been prevented by three *Spaniards*. This unparalleled and villainous carriage made us seriously consider what was to be done. The two *Englishmen* and the *Spaniard*, who had saved the poor *Indian*'s life, mightily petitioned me to hang one of them, for an example to the others, which should be him that had twice attempted to commit murder with his hatchet, it being at that time thought impossible the poor slave should recover. But they could never gain my consent to put him to death, for the reasons abovementioned, since it was an *Englishman* (even yourself) was my deliverer: And, as merciful counsels are most prevailing, when earnestly pressed, so I got them to be of the same opinion, as to clemency. But to prevent them doing us any future mischief, we all agreed that they should have no weapons, as swords, guns, powder or shot, but be expelled from the society, to live how they pleased by themselves: That neither the two *Englishmen*, nor the rest of the *Spaniards*, should have conversation with them upon any account whatsoever: That they should be kept from coming within certain limits of our castle; and if they dared to offer us any violence, either by spoiling, burning, killing or destroying any of the corn, plantains, buildings, fences, or cattle, belonging to the society, we would shoot them as freely as we would do beasts of prey, in whatsoever places we should perceive them.

This sentence seemed very just to all but themselves; when, like a merciful Judge, I called out to the two honest *Englishmen*, saying, you must consider they ought not to be starved neither; and since it will be some time before they can raise corn or cattle of their own, let us give them some corn to last them eight months, and for seed to sow, by which time they will raise some for themselves. Let us also bestow upon them six milch goats, four he ones, and six kids, as well for their present support, as a farther increase: together with tools necessary for their work; as hatchets, an axe, saw, and other things convenient to build them huts: All which were agreed to; but before they took them in possession, I obliged them solemnly to swear, never to attempt any thing against us or their countrymen for the future. Thus dismissing them from our society, they went away, sullen and refractory, as though neither willing to go nor stay: However, seeing no remedy, they took what provision was given them, pretending to chuse a convenient place, where they might live by themselves.

About five days after, they came to those limits appointed, in order for more victuals, and sent me word by one of my *Spaniards*, whom they called to, where they had pitched their tents, and marked themselves out an habitation and plantation, at the *N. E.* and most remote part of the island. And indeed there they built themselves two very handsome cottages, resembling our little castle, being under the side of a mountain, with some trees already growing on three sides of it; so that planting a few more, it would have been obscured from sight, unless particularly sought for. When these huts were finished, we gave them some dry goats' skins for bedding and covering; and, on their giving us fuller sureties of their good behaviour for the future, we gave them some peas, barley, and rice for sowing, and whatever tools we could spare.

Six months did they live in this separate condition, in which they got their first harvest in, the quantity of which was but small, because they had planted but little land: For indeed, all their plantations being to form, made it the more difficult, especially it being a thing out of their element. And when they were obliged to make their boards and pots, &c. they could make little or nothing of it. But the rainy season coming on, put them into a greater perplexity, for want of a cave to keep their corn dry, and prevent it from spoiling: And so much did this humble them, that they begged of my *Spaniards* to help them, to which the good natured men readily consented, and in four days space worked a great hole in the side of the hill for them, large enough for their purpose, to secure their corn and other things from the rain, though not comparable to our's, which had several additional apartments.

But a new whim possessed these rogues about three quarters of a year afterwards, which had like to have ruined us, and themselves too: For it seems, being tired and weary of this sort of living, which made them work themselves, without hopes of changing their condition, nothing would serve them, but they would make a voyage to the continent, and try if they could not seize upon some of the savages, and bring them over, as slaves to do their drudgery, while they lived at ease and pleasure.

Indeed the project was not so preposterous, if they had not gone farther; but they neither did, or proposed any thing, but what had mischief in the design, or the event. One morning these three fellows came down to the limited station, and humbly desired to be admitted to talk with us, which we readily granted. They told us, in short, that being tired of their manner of living, the labour of their hands, in such employments, not being sufficient to procure the necessaries of life, they only desired one of the canoes we came over in, with some arms and ammunition, for their defence, and they would

seek

ſeek their fortunes abroad, and never trouble us any more. To be ſure, we were glad enough to get rid of ſuch wretched plagues; but yet honeſty made us ingenuouſly repreſent to them, by what we ourſelves had ſuffered, the certain deſtruction they were running into, either of being ſtarved to death or murdered by the ſavages. To this they very audaciouſly replied, that they neither could or would work; and conſequently, that they might as well be ſtarved abroad as at home: And as to their falling into the hands of the ſavages; why, if they were murdered, that was nothing to us, there was an end of them; they had neither wives nor children to cry after them: Nay, ſo intent were they upon their voyage, that if the *Spaniards* would not give them arms, ſo they had but the canoe, they would go without.

But though we could not well ſpare our fire arms, rather than they ſhould go like naked men, we let them have two muſkets, a piſtol, a cutlaſs, and three hatchets, which were thought very ſufficient: We gave them alſo goats' fleſh, a great baſket full of dried grapes, a pot of freſh butter, a young live kid, and a large canoe ſufficient to carry twenty men. And thus, with a maſt made of a long pole, and a ſail of ſix large goat ſkins dried, having a fair breeze, and a flood tide with them, they ſailed merrily away, the *Spaniards* calling after them, *Bon Veyaoja,* no man ever expecting to ſee them again.

When they were gone, the *Spaniards* and *Engliſhmen* would often ſay one to another, *O how peaceably do we now live ſince thoſe turbulent fellows have left us!* Nothing could be farther from their thoughts than to behold their faces any more; and yet ſcarce two and twenty days had paſſed over their heads, but one of the *Engliſhmen,* being abroad a planting, perceived at a diſtance, three men well armed, approaching towards him. Away he flies with ſpeed to our caſtle, and tells me and the reſt, that we were all undone, for that ſtrangers were landed on the iſland, and who they were he could not tell, but added, that they were not ſavages, but men habited, bearing arms. Why then, ſaid I, we have the leſs occaſion to be concerned, ſince, if they are not *Indians,* they muſt be friends; and I am ſure there is no Chriſtian people upon earth, but what will do us good rather than harm. But while we were conſidering of the event, up came the three *Engliſhmen,* whoſe voices we quickly knew, and ſo all our admiration of that nature ceaſed at once. And our wonder was ſucceeded by another ſort of enquiry, which was, What could be the occaſion of their returning ſo quickly to the iſland, when we little expected, and much leſs deſired their company? But, as this was better to be related by themſelves, I ordered them to be brought in, and they gave me the following relation of their voyage.

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After two days ſail, or ſomething leſs, they reached land, where they found the people coming to give them another ſort of reception, than what they expected or deſired; for being armed with bows and arrows, they durſt not venture on ſhore, but ſteered northward ſix or ſeven hours, till they attained to an opening, by which they plainly perceived, that the land that appeared from this place, was not the main, but an iſland; that at their entrance into the opening of the ſea, they diſcovered another iſland, on the right hand north, and ſeveral more lying to the weſtward; but being reſolved to go on ſhore ſomewhere or other, they put over to one of the weſtern iſlands. Here they found the natives very courteous to them, giving them ſeveral roots and dried fiſh; nay, even the women too, were as willing to ſupply them with what they could procure them to eat, bringing it a great way to them upon their heads. Among thoſe hoſpitable *Indians* they continued ſome days, enquiring, by ſigns and tokens, what nations lay around them; and were informed, that there were ſeveral fierce and terrible people lived every way, accuſtomed to eat mankind; but, for themſelves, they never uſed ſuch diet, except thoſe who were taken in battle, and of them they made a ſolemn feaſt.

The *Engliſhmen* enquired, how long it was ſince they had a feaſt of that kind; they anſwered about two moons ago, pointing to the moon, and then to two fingers; that at this time their king had two hundred priſoners, which were fattening up for the ſlaughter. Mighty deſirous were the *Engliſhmen* for ſeeing the priſoners, which the others miſtaking, thought that they wanted ſome of them for their own food: Upon which they beckoned to them, pointing to the riſing, and then to the ſetting of the ſun; that when it appeared in the eaſt the next morning, they would bring them ſome: And indeed they were as good as their words, for by that time they brought eleven men and five women, juſt as ſo many cows and oxen are brought to ſea port towns, to victual a ſhip. But as brutiſh as theſe *Engliſhmen* were, their ſtomachs turned at the ſight. What to do in this caſe they could not tell: To refuſe the priſoners, would have been the higheſt affront offered to the ſavage gentry; and to diſpoſe of them, they knew not in what manner. However, they reſolved to accept them; and ſo gave them in return, one of their hatchets, an old key, a knife, and ſix or ſeven of their bullets; things which though wholly ignorant of, they ſeemed entirely contented with; and dragging the poor wretches into the boat, with their hands bound behind them, delivered them to the *Engliſhmen*. But this obliged them to put off as ſoon as they had theſe preſents, leſt the donors might have expected two or three of them to be killed, and to be invited to dinner the next day: and ſo taking leave, with all poſſible reſpect and thanks, though neither of them

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underſtood what they could ſay, they ſailed away back to the firſt iſland, and there ſet eight of the men priſoners at liberty. In their voyage, they endeavoured to comfort, and have ſome comunication with the poor captives; but it was impoſſible to make them ſenſible of any thing; and nothing they could ſay, or give, or do for them, could make them otherwiſe perſuaded, but that they were unbound only to be devoured. If they gave them any food, they thought it was only to fatten them for the ſlaughter; or looked at any one more particularly, the poor creature thought itſelf to be the firſt ſacrifice: And even when they brought them to our iſland, and began to uſe them with the greateſt humanity and kindneſs; yet they expected every day their new maſters would devour them.

And thus, Sir, did theſe three ſtrange wanderers conclude the unaccountable relation of their voyage, which was both amazing and entertaining. Hereupon I aſked them where their new family was? They told me, they had put them into one of their huts, and they came to beg ſome victuals for them. This, indeed, made us long to ſee them; and ſo, taking *Friday's* father with us, leaving only two at our caſtle, we came down to behold theſe poor creatures.

When we arrived at the hut (being bound again by the *Engliſhmen*, for fear of eſcaping) there they all ſat, ſtark naked, expecting their fatal tragedy: There were three luſty comely men, well ſhaped, with ſtrait and fair limbs, between thirty and five and thirty years old; and five women, two of whom might be from thirty to forty, two more not above four and twenty; and the laſt, a comely tall maiden of about ſeventeen. Indeed all the women were very agreeable, both in their proportion and features, except being tawny, which their modeſt behaviour and other graces made amends for, when they afterwards came to be clothed.

Their naked appearance, together with their miſerable circumſtances, was no very comfortable ſight to my *Spaniards*, who, for their parts, I may venture, Sir, without flattery, to ſay, are men of the beſt behaviour, calmeſt tempers, and ſweeteſt natures, that can poſſibly be: For they immediately ordered *Friday's* father to ſee if he knew any of them, or if he underſtood what they could ſay. No ſooner did the old *Indian* appear, but he looked at them with great ſerioufneſs; yet, not being of his nation, they were utter ſtrangers to him, and none could underſtand his ſpeech, or ſigns, but one woman. This was enough to anſwer the deſign, which was, to aſſure them they would not be killed, being fallen into the hands of Chriſtians, who abhorred ſuch barbarity. When they were fully ſatisfied of this, they expreſſed their joy by ſuch ſtrange geſtures, and uncommon tones, as are not poſſible for me to deſcribe. But the woman, their interpreter, was ordered next to

enquire, whether they were content to be ſervants, and would work for the men who had brought them thither to ſave their lives? Hereupon (being by this time unbound) they fell a capering and dancing, one taking this thing upon her ſhoulders, and t'other that, intimating that they were willing to do any thing for them. But now, Sir, having women among us, and dreading that it might occaſion ſome ſtrife, if not blood, I aſked the three men what they would do, and how they intended to uſe theſe creatures, whether as ſervants or women? One of them very pertly and readily anſwered, they would uſe them as both. Gentlemen, ſaid I, as you are your own maſters, I am not going to reſtrain you from that; but methinks, for avoiding diſſenſions among you, I would only deſire you to engage, That none of you will take more than one for a woman or a wife; and that having taken this one, none elſe ſhould preſume to touch her; for though we have not a prieſtly authority to marry you, yet it is but reaſonable, that whoever thus takes a woman, ſhould be obliged to mantain her; ſince nobody elſe has any thing to do with her: And this indeed appeared ſo juſt to all preſent, that it was unanimouſly agreed to. Then the *Engliſhmen* aſked my *Spaniards*, whether they deſigned to take any of them? But they all anſwered no, ſome declaring, they had already wives in *Spain*, and others, that they cared not to join with infidels. On the reverſe, the *Engliſhmen* took each of them a temporary wife, and ſet up a new method of living. As to *Friday*'s father, the *Spaniards*, and the three ſavage ſervants we had taken in the late battle, they all lived with me in our ancient caſtle; and indeed we ſupplied the main part of the iſland with food, as neceſſity required. But the moſt remarkable part of the ſtory is, how theſe *Engliſhmen*, who had been ſo much at variance, ſhould agree about the choice of theſe women; yet they took a good way enough to prevent quarrelling among themſelves. They ſet the five women in one of their huts, and going themſelves to the other, drew lots which ſhould have the firſt choice. Now he that had the firſt went to the hut, and fetched out her he choſe; and it is remarkable, that he that choſe firſt, took her that was accounted the moſt homely, and eldeſt of the number, which made the reſt of the *Engliſhmen* exceeding merry, and the *Spaniards* themſelves could not but ſmile at it: But, as it happened, the fellow had the beſt thought, in chuſing one fit for application and buſineſs; and indeed ſhe proved the beſt wife of all the parcel.

But, when the poor creatures perceived themſelves placed in a row, and ſeparated one by one, they were again ſeized with an unſpeakable terror, as thinking they were now going to be ſlain in earneſt: And when the *Engliſhman* came to take the firſt, the reſt ſet up a lamentable cry, clapt their arms around

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her neck, and hanging about her, took their last farewel, as they thought, in such trembling agonies, and affectionate embraces, as would have softened the hardest heart in the world, and made the driest eyes melt into watery tears: Nor could they be persuaded, but that they were going to die, till such time as *Friday*'s father made them sensible, that the *Englishmen* had chosen them for their wives; and so ended all their terror and concern upon this occasion.

Well, after this, the *Englishmen* went to work, and, being assisted by my good natured savages, in a few hours they erected every one of them a new hut or tent, for their separate lodging, since those they had already were filled with tools, household stuff and provision. They all continued on the north shore of the island, but separate as before; the three wicked ones pitched farther off, and the two honest men nearer hand to our castle: So that the island seemed to be peopled in three places, three towns beginning to be built for that purpose. And here I cannot but remark, what is very common, that the two honest men had the worst wives (I mean as to industry, cleanliness and ingenuity) while the three reprobates enjoyed women of the contrary perfections.

But another observation I made is in favour of the two honest men, to shew what disparity there is between a diligent application to business, on the one hand, and a slothful, negligent, and idle temper, on the other. Both of them had an equal parcel of ground laid out, and corn to sow sufficient for them; but both did not make the same improvements, either in their cultivation or in their planting. The two honest men had a multitude of young trees planted about their habitations, so that when you approached near them, nothing appeared but a wood, very pleasing and delightful. Every thing they did prospered and flourished; their grapes, planted in order, seemed as though managed in a vineyard, and were infinitely preferable to any of the others. Nor were they wanting to find out a place of retreat; but dug a cave in the most retired part of a thick wood to secure their wives and children, with their provision and chiefest goods, surrounded with innumerable stakes, and had the most subtle entrance, in case any mischief should happen, either by their fellow countrymen, or the devouring savages.

As to the reprobates (though I must own they were much more civilized than before) instead of a delightful wood surrounding their dwellings, we found the words of King *Solomon* too truly verified: *I went by the vineyard of the slothful, and it was overgrown with thorns.* In many places their crop was obscured by weeds; the hedges, having several gaps in them, the wild goats had got in and eaten up the corn; and here and there was a dead bush, to stop in those gaps for the present, which

which was no more than ſhutting the ſtable door after the ſteed was ſtolen away. But for their wives, they (as I obſerved before) were more diligent, and cleanly enough, eſpecially in their victuals, being inſtructed by one of the honeſt men, who was a cook's mate on board a ſhip: And very well it was ſo, for, cooking himſelf, his companion and their families lived as well as the idle huſbands, who did nothing but loiter about, fetch turtles eggs, catch fiſh and birds, and any thing but work, and they lived accordingly; while the diligent lived very handſomely and plentifully, in the moſt comfortable manner.

And now, Sir, I am come to lay before your eyes a ſcene, quite different from any thing that ever happened to us before; and, perhaps, ever befel you in all the time of your reſidence on this iſland: I ſhall inform you of its original in the following manner.

One morning, Sir, very early, there came five or ſix canoes of *Indians* on ſhore, indiſputably upon their old cuſtom of devouring their priſoners. All that we could do upon ſuch an occaſion, was to lie concealed; and they not having any notice of the inhabitants, would depart quietly, after performing their bloody execution. Whoever diſcovered theſe ſavages firſt was to give notice to all the three plantations, to keep within doors; and then proper ſcout was to be placed, to give us intelligence of their departure. But notwithſtanding theſe wiſe meaſures, an unhappy diſaſter expoſed us to the knowledge of the ſavages, which had like to have cauſed the deſolation of the whole iſland: For after the ſavages were gone off in their canoes, ſome of my *Spaniards* and I, looking abroad, and enflamed with a curioſity to ſee what they had been doing here, to our great amazement, we beheld three ſavages faſt aſleep on the ground, who either being gorged, could not awake when the others went; or, having wandered too far into the woods, did not come back in time.

What to do with them at firſt we could not tell: As for ſlaves we had enough of them already; and as to killing them, neither chriſtianity, nor humanity, would ſuffer us to ſhed innocent blood, who never did us wrong, and therefore had no juſt quarrel againſt them, to juſtify our taking their lives away. We perceived they had no boat left them to tranſport them to their own nation; and that, by letting them wander about, they might diſcover us, and inform the firſt ſavages that ſhould happen to land on this bloody occaſion; which information might entirely ruin us; and therefore I counſelled my *Spaniards* to ſecure them, and ſet them about ſome work or other till we could better diſpoſe of them.

Hereupon we all went back, and making them awake, took them priſoners. It is impoſſible to expreſs the horrour they were in, eſpecially when bound, as thinking they were going

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to be murdered and eaten; but we ſoon eaſed them of their fear as to that point. We firſt took them to the bower, where was the chief of our country work; as keeping goats, planting corn, *&c.* and then carried them to the two *Engliſhmen*'s habitation, to help them in their buſineſs: But happy it was for us all, we did not carry them to our caſtle, as will appear by the ſequel. The *Engliſhmen* indeed found them work to do; but, whether they did not guard them ſtrictly, or that they thought they could not better themſelves, I cannot tell; but certainly one of them ran away into the woods, and they could not hear of him for a long time after.

Undoubtedly there was reaſon enough to ſuppoſe he got home in ſome of the canoes, the ſavages returning in about four week's time, and going off in the ſpace of two days. You may be certain, Sir, this thought could not but terrify us exceedingly; and made us juſtly conclude, that this ſavage would inform his countrymen of our abode in the iſland, how few and weak we were in compariſon to their numbers; expecting it would not be long before the *Engliſhmen* would be attacked in their habitations; but the ſavages had not ſeen their places of ſafety in the wood, nor our caſtle, which it was a great happineſs they did not know.

Nor were we miſtaken in our thoughts upon this occaſion: for about eight months after this, ſix canoes of ſavages, with about ten men in each canoe, came ſailing by the north ſide of the iſland, which they were never accuſtomed to do before, and landed about an hour after ſun riſe, near a mile from the dwelling of the two *Engliſhmen*, who, it ſeems, had the good fortune to diſcover them about a league off; ſo it was about an hour before they could attain the ſhore, and it required ſome longer time before they could come at them. And being now confirmed in this opinion, that they were certainly betrayed, they immediately bound the two ſlaves which were left, cauſing two of the three men, whom they had brought with the women, and who proved very faithful, to lead them with their wives, and other conveniencies, into their retired cave in the wood, and there to bind the two fellows hand and foot till they had further orders. Then they opened their fences where they kept their milch goats, and drove them all out, giving the goats liberty to wander in the woods, to amuſe the ſavages that they were wild ones; but the ſlave had given a truer information, which made them come to their very incloſures. The two frighted men ſent the other ſlave of the three, who had been with them by accident, to alarm the *Spaniards*, and deſire their aſſiſtance; in the mean time they took their arms and ammunition, and made to the cave where they had ſent their wives, and ſecuring their ſlaves, ſeat-d themſelves in a private place, from whence they might behold

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all the actions of the ſavages. Nor had they gone far, and aſcending a riſing ground, but they could ſee a little army of *Indians* approach to their beautiful dwelling; and, in a few moments more, perceived the ſame, and their furniture, to their unſpeakable grief, burning in a conſuming flame: And when this was done, they ſpread here and there, ſearching every buſh and place for the people, of whom it was evident they had information. Upon which the two *Engliſhmen* not thinking themſelves ſecure where they ſtood, retreated about half a mile farther into the country, rightly concluding that the farther the ſavages ſtrolled, there would be the leſs number together: Upon which they took their next ſtand where the trunk of an old tree ſtood, very hollow and large, where they reſolved to ſee what would offer. But they had not ſtood long there, before two ſavages came running directly towards them, as though having knowledge of their being there, they reſolved to attack them. A little farther were three more, and five more behind them again, all running the ſame way. It cannot be imagined what perplexity the poor men were in at this ſight, thinking that, if aſſiſtance did not ſpeedily come, their cave would be diſcovered in the wood, and conſequently all therein loſt. So they reſolved to reſiſt them there; and, when overpowered, would aſcend to the top of the trees, where they would defend themſelves as long as their ammunition laſted, and ſell their lives as dear as poſſible to thoſe devouring ſavages. Thus fixed upon their reſolution, they next conſidered whether they ſhould fire at the firſt two, or wait for the three, and ſo take the middle party, by which the two firſt and the five laſt would be ſeparated. In this regulation the two ſavages alſo confirmed them, by turning a little to the other part of the wood; but the three, and the five after them, came directly towards the tree. Hereupon they reſolved to take them in a direct line as they approached nearer, becauſe the firſt ſhot might perhaps hit them all three; and upon this occaſion, the man who was to fire charged his piece with three or four bullets. And thus, while they were waiting, the ſavages came on: one of them was the run-away, who had cauſed all their miſchief, ſo they reſolved he ſhould not eſcape, if they both fired at once. But however, though they did not fire together, they were ready charged; when the firſt that let fly was too good a markſman to miſs his aim; for he killed the foremoſt outright; the ſecond, who was the run away *Indian* fell on the ground, being ſhot through the body, but not dead; and the third was a little wounded on the ſhoulder, who ſitting down on the ground, fell a ſcreaming in a moſt fearful manner. The noiſe of the guns, which not only made the moſt reſounding echoes, from one ſide to another, but raiſed the birds of all

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ſorts, fluttering with the moſt confuſed noiſe, ſo much terrified the five ſavages behind, that they ſtood ſtill at firſt like ſo many inanimate images. But when every thing was in its firſt profound ſilence, they came to the place where their companions lay in a miſerable condition: And here, not being ſenſible that they were liable to the ſame fate, they ſtood over the wounded man, undoubtedly enquiring the cauſe of his ſad calamity; and, as 'tis reaſonable to ſuppoſe, he told them that it came by lightning and thunder from the gods, having never ſeen or heard of a gun before, in the whole courſe of their lives. By this time the *Engliſhmen* having loaded their pieces, fired both together a ſecond time, when, ſeeing them all fall immediately upon the ground, they thought they had killed every creature of them. This made them come up boldly before they had charged their guns, which indeed was a wrong ſtep; for, when they came to the place, they found four alive, two of them a very little wounded and one, not at all, which obliged them to fall upon them with their muſkets: They firſt knocked the run away ſavage on the head, and another that was but a little wounded in the arm, and then put the other languiſhing wretches out of their pain; while he that was not hurt, with bended knees, and lift up hands, made piteous moans and ſigns to them to ſpare his life: Nor were they indeed unmerciful to the poor wretch, but pointed to him to ſit down at the root of a tree hard by, and then one of the *Engliſhmen*, with a piece of rope twine he had in his pocket by mere chance, tying his two feet faſt together, and his two hands behind him, there they left him, making all the haſte they could after the other two, fearing they ſhould find out their cave; but though they could not overtake them, yet they had the ſatisfaction to perceive them, at a diſtance croſs over a valley towards the ſea, a quite contrary way to their retreat: Upon which they very contentedly returned to the tree, to look after their priſoner; but when they came there he was gone, leaving the pieces of rope-yarn wherewith he was bound, behind him.

Well, now they were as much concerned as ever, not knowing how near their enemies might be, or in what numbers: Immediately they repaired to their cave, to ſee if all were well there, and found every thing ſafe, except the women who were frighted upon their huſbands' account, whom they now loved entirely. They had not been long here, before ſeven of my *Spaniards* came to aſſiſt them; while the other ten, their ſervants, and *Friday*'s father, were gone to defend their bower, corn and cattle, in caſe the ſavages ſhould have rambled ſo far. There accompanied the ſeven *Spaniards* one of the three ſavages, that had formerly been taken priſoner; and, with them alſo, that very *Indian* whom the *Engliſhmen* had a little before, left under the tree; for it ſeems they paſſed by

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that way where the ſlaughter was made, ſo carried along with them that poor wretch that was left bound. But ſo many priſoners now becoming a burthen to us, and fearing the dreadful conſequence of their eſcaping, moſt of the *Spaniards* and *Engliſh* urged the abſolute neceſſity there was for killing them, for our common preſervation: But, Sir, the authority I bore as Governour overſwayed that piece of cruelty; and then I ordered them to be ſent priſoners to the old cave in the valley, bound hands and feet, with two *Spaniards* to guard them.

So much encouraged were the *Engliſhmen*, at the approach of the *Spaniards*, and ſo great was their fury againſt the ſavages, for deſtroying their habitations, that they had not patience to ſtay any longer; but taking five *Spaniards* along with them, armed with four muſkets, a piſtol, and a quarter ſtaff, away they went in purſuit of their enemies. As they paſſed by the place where the ſavages were ſlain, it was very eaſy to be perceived that more of them had been there, having attempted to carry off their dead bodies, but found it impracticable. From a riſing ground our party had the mortification to ſee the ſmoke that proceeded from the ruins; when, coming farther in ſight of the ſhore, they plainly perceived that the ſavages had embarked in their canoes, and were putting out to ſea. This they were very ſorry for, there being no coming at them, to give them a parting ſalutation: But, however, they were glad enough to get rid of ſuch unwelcome gueſts.

Thus the two honeſt, but unfortunate *Engliſhmen*, being ruined a ſecond time, and their improvements quite deſtroyed, moſt of my good natured *Spaniards* helped them to re-build, and we all helped them with needful ſupplies: Nay, what is more remarkable, their three miſchievous countrymen, when they heard it (which was after all theſe diſaſters were over, they living remote eaſtward) ſympathized with them in a very friendly manner, and worked for them ſeveral days; ſo that in a little time their habitation was rebuilt, their neceſſities ſupplied, and themſelves reſtored to their former tranquillity.

The ſavages had nothing to boaſt of in this adventure, ſeveral canoes being driven aſhore, followed by two drowned creatures, having undoubtedly met with a ſtorm at ſea, that very night they departed. Nor can it be ſuppoſed otherwiſe, but thoſe, whoſe better fortune it was to attain their native ſhore, would enflame their nation to another ruinous attempt, with a greater force to carry all before them. And indeed ſo it happened; for about ſeven months after, our iſland was invaded with a moſt formidable navy; no leſs than eight and twenty canoes full of ſavages, armed with wooden ſwords, monſtrous clubs, bows and arrows, and ſuch like inſtruments of war, landed that evening at the eaſtmoſt ſide of the iſland.

You

You may well imagine, Sir, what consternation our men were in upon this account, and how speedy they were to execute their resolution, having only that night's time allowed them. They knew that since they could not withstand their enemies, concealment was the only way to procure their safety: And therefore they took down the huts that were built for the two *Englishmen*, and drove their flock of goats together with their own at the bower, to the old cave in the valley; they left as little appearance of inhabitants as possible, and then posted themselves with all their force, at the plantation of the two men. As they expected, so it happened; for early the next morning the *Indians*, leaving their canoes at the east end of the island, came running along the shore, about two hundred and fifty in number, as near as can be guessed. Our army was but little indeed; and, what was our greater misfortune, we had not arms sufficient for them: The account, as to the men, Sir, is as follows:

17 Spaniards. 5 Englishmen. 1 *Old* Friday. 3 *The three savages, taken with the women, who proved faithful servants.* 3 *Other slaves living with the* Spaniards.	*To arm those, they had*	11 *Muskets.* 5 *Pistols.* 3 *Fowling Pieces.* 2 *Swords.* 3 *Old Halberts.* 5 *Muskets, or fowling pieces, taken from the sailors, whom you reduced.*

As to our slaves, we gave three of them halberts, and the other three long staves, with great iron spikes at the end of them, with hatchets by their sides: We also had hatchets too, sticking in our girdles, besides the fire arms: Nay, two of the women, inspired with *Amazonian* fortitude, could not be dissuaded from fighting along with their dearest husbands, and if they died, to die with them. Seeing their resolution, we gave them hatchets likewise; but what pleased them best, were the bows and arrows (which they dexterously knew the use of) that the *Indians* had left behind them, after their memorable battle, one against another.

This was my little army, but of great intrepidity, over which I was chief general and commander; and knowing *Will Atkins*, though exceedingly wicked, yet a man of invincible courage, I gave him the power of commanding under me: He and six men, with their muskets loaded with six or seven bullets a piece, were planted just behind a small thicket of bushes, as an advanced guard, having orders to let the first pass by; and then, when we fired into the middle of them, make a nimble retreat round part of the wood, and so come

in the rear of the *Spaniards*, who were ſhaded by a thicket of trees. Though the ſavages came on with the fierceneſs of lions, yet they wanted the ſubtilty of foxes, being out of all manner of order, and ſtraggling in heaps every way: And when *Will. Atkins*, after fifty of the ſavages had paſſed by, had ordered three of his men to give fire, ſo great was their conſternation, to ſee ſo many men killed and wounded, and hear ſuch a dreadful noiſe, aud yet not know whence it came, that they were frightened to the higheſt degree; and when the ſecond volley was given, they concluded no leſs but their companions were ſlain by thunder and lightning from heaven. And in this notion they would have continued, had *Will. Atkins* and his men retired as ſoon as they fired, according to order, or had the reſt been near them, to pour in their ſhot continually, there might have been a complete victory obtained; but ſtaying to load their pieces again, diſcovered the whole matter. They were perceived by ſome of the ſcattering ſavages at a diſtance, who let fly their arrows among them, wounded *Atkins* himſelf, and killed his fellow *Engliſhman*, and one of the *Indians* taken with the women. Nor did our party fail to anſwer them while they retreated, killing above twenty ſavages: And here I cannot but take notice of our poor dying ſlave; though ſtopt from his retreat by a fatal arrow, yet with his ſtaff and hatchet, he deſperately and gallantly aſſailed the purſuers, and killed five of the ſavages, before his life ſubmitted to a multiplicity of wounds. Nor is the cruelty or malice of the *Indians* to be leſs remarked, in breaking the arms, legs, and heads, of the two dead bodies, with their clubs and wooden ſwords, after a moſt wretched manner. Hereupon our party was obliged to interpoſe between the ſavages and *Atkins*, who had retreated to a riſing ground in the wood; but after three vollies we were obliged to retreat alſo; for they were ſo very numerous and deſperate, that they came to the very teeth of us, ſhot their arrows like a cloud, and their wounded men, enraged with cruel pain, fought like madmen. They did not think fit to follow us, but drawing themſelves up in a circle, they gave two triumphant ſhouts, in token of victory; though they had the grief to ſee ſeveral of their wounded bleed to death before them.

After I had, Sir, drawn up our little army together upon a riſing ground, *Atkins*, wounded as he was, would have had us attack the whole body of the ſavages at once: But, well pleaſed with the gallantry of the man, we replied, *You perceived*, Seignior Atkins, *how their wounded men fought; let them alone till morning, when, being faint, ſtiff and ſore, we ſhall have the fewer to combat with.* To which *Will. Atkins*, ſmilingly replied, *That's very true, Seigniors, and ſo ſhall I too; and that's the reaſon I would fight them now I am warm.* We all anſwered,

Seignior

Seignior Atkins, for your part, you have behaved yourſelf very gallantly; and if you are not able to approach the enemy in the morning, we will fight for you; till then we think it convenient to wait.

By the brightneſs of the moon that night, we perceived the ſavages in great diſorder, about their dead and wounded men. This made us change our reſolution, by falling upon them in the night, if we could give them one volley undiſcovered. And this we had a fair opportunity to do, by one of the two *Engliſhmen*'s leading us round between the woods and the ſea ſide weſtward, and turning ſhort ſouth, came privately to a place where the thickeſt of them were, unheard, and unperceived. Eight of us fired among them, and did dreadful execution; and, in half a minute after, eight more of us let fly, killing and wounding abundance of them; and then, dividing ourſelves into three bodies, eight perſons in each body, we marched from among the trees to the very teeth of the enemy, ſending forth the greateſt ſhouts and acclamations. The ſavages, hearing a different noiſe from three quarters at once, ſtood in the utmoſt confuſion; but coming in ſight of us, let fly a volley of arrows, which wounded poor old *Friday*, yet happily it did not prove mortal. But ruſhing in ſuddenly among them, we fired three ſeveral ways, and then fell to work with our ſwords, ſtaves, hatchets, and the but end of our muſkets, with ſuch fury as could not be reſiſted; ſo that ſetting forth the moſt diſmal ſcreaming and howling, they had recourſe to their feet, to ſave their lives by a ſpeedy flight. Nor muſt we forget the valour of the two women, for they expoſed themſelves to the greateſt dangers, killed many with their arrows, and valiantly deſtroyed ſeveral more with their hatchets.

Indeed we were ſo much tired in fighting theſe two battles, that we did not then trouble ourſelves to purſue them to their canoes, in which we thought they would preſently put to the ocean: But there happened a dreadful ſtorm at ſea, which continued all that night, and not only prevented their voyage, but daſhed ſeveral of their boats to pieces againſt the beach; and drove the reſt ſo high upon the ſhore, as required infinite pains to get them off again. After our men had taken ſome refreſhment, and a little repoſe, they reſolved to go towards the place of their landing early in the morning, and ſee whether they were gone off, or in what poſture they remained. This neceſſarily led them to the place of battle, where ſeveral of the ſavages were expiring; a ſight no way pleaſing to generous minds, to delight in their miſery, though obliged to conquer them by the law of arms. But our own *Indian* ſlaves put them out of their pain, by diſpatching them with their hatchets. At length, coming in view of the remainder of their army, we found them leaning upon their knees, which were bended towards

wards their mouths, and the head between the two hands. Hereupon, coming within muſket ſhot of them, I ordered two pieces to be fired without ball, in order to alarm them, that we might plainly know whether they had the courage to fight another battle, or were utterly diſpirited from ſuch an attempt, that we might manage them accordingly. And indeed the project took very well; for no ſooner did the ſavages hear the firſt gun, and perceive the flaſh of the ſecond, but they ſuddenly ſtartled upon their feet, in the greateſt conſternation; and when we approached towards them, they ran howling and ſcreaming away up the hill into the country.

We could rather, at firſt, have wiſhed that the weather had permitted them to have gone off to the ſea; but, when we conſidered that their eſcape might occaſion the approach of multitudes to our utter ruin and deſolation, we were very well pleaſed the contrary happened: And *Will. Atkins*, who, though wounded, would not part from us all this while, adviſed us not to let ſlip this advantage, but clapping between them and their boats, deprive them of the capacity of ever returning to plague the iſland. *I know*, ſaid he, *there is but one objection you can make; which is, that theſe creatures, living like beaſts in the wood, may make excurſions, rifle the plantations, and deſtroy the tame goats: But then conſider, we had better have to do with an hundred men, whom we can kill, or make ſlaves of at leiſure, than with a hundred nations, whom it is impoſſible we ſhould ſave ourſelves from, much leſs ſubdue.* This advice, and theſe arguments being approved of, we ſet fire to their boats; and, though they were ſo wet that they would not burn entirely, yet we made them incapable of ſwimming in the ſeas. As ſoon as the *Indians* perceived what we were doing, many of them ran out of the woods in ſight of us, and kneeling down, piteouſly cried out *Oa, Oa, Waramakoa*, intimating, I ſuppoſe, that if we would but ſpare their canoes, they would never trouble us again.

But all their complaints, and ſubmiſſions, and entreaties were in vain; for, ſelf preſervation obliging us to the contrary, we deſtroyed every one of them that had eſcaped the fury of the ocean. When the *Indians* perceived this, they raiſed a lamentable cry, and ran into the woods, and from thence ranged about the whole iſland. Here we ſhould have conſidered indeed, that making theſe creatures thus deſperate, we ought, at the ſame time, to have ſet a ſufficient guard upon the plantations. The ſavages had before found out the bower, deſtroyed the fences, trod the corn down under foot, and torn up the vines and grapes. But though we were able, upon all occaſions, to fight theſe creatures; yet they were too ſwift for us, nor durſt we go out ſingle, for fear of their numbers: But our only comfort was, they had no weapons, nor any materials to

make

make them; and their extremity appeared in a little time after.

As to our own parts, the only refuge we had left, was one flock of cattle in the valley by the cave, with ſome little corn that grew there, and the plantation of *Will. Atkins* and his companions, one of whom being killed by an arrow, they were now reduced to two. And it is remarkable, that this was the fellow that cut the poor *Indian* with his hatchet, and had a deſign to murder me and my countrymen, the *Spaniards*. Such was our mean condition, that we concluded to drive the ſavages up to the farther part of the iſland, ſouth weſt, at preſent, where no *Indians* landed, killing as many of them as we could, till we had reduced their number, and then give the remainder ſome corn to plant, teaching them how to live by their daily labour. Accordingly we purſued them with our guns, at the hearing of which, they were ſo terrified, that they would fall upon the ground. Every day we killed and wounded ſome of them, and many we found ſtarved to death, ſo that our hearts began to relent at the ſight of ſuch miſerable objects. At laſt, with great difficulty, taking one of them alive, and uſing him with kindneſs and tenderneſs, we brought him to old *Friday*, who talked to him, and told him how good we would be to them all, giving them corn and land to plant and live in, and preſent nouriſhment, provided they would keep within ſuch bounds as ſhould be alloted them, and not do prejudice to others: *And therefore*, ſaid he, *go your way, and inform your countrymen of it; which if they will not agree to, every one of them ſhall be ſlain.*

The poor creatures, thoroughly humbled, and being reduced to about thirty ſeven, joyfully accepted the offer, and earneſtly begged for ſome food: Hereupon we ſent twelve *Spaniards*, and two *Engliſhmen*, well armed, together with old *Friday*, and three *Indian* ſlaves, who marched to the place where they were; the ſlaves were loaded with a large quantity of bread, and rice cakes, leading three live goats. Being ordered to ſit down on the ſide of the hill, the poor *Indians* ate the victuals very thankfully, and have proved faithful to the laſt, never treſpaſſing beyond their bounds: where at this day they quietly and happily remain, and where we now and then viſit them. They are confined to a neck of land, about a mile and a half broad, and three or four in length, on the ſouth eaſt corner of the iſland, the ſea being before, and lofty mountains behind them, quite from the appearance of canoes, and whoſe countrymen never make enquiry after them. We gave them twelve hatchets, and three or four knives; have taught them both to build their huts, make wooden ſpades, plant corn, make bread, breed tame goats and milk them, as likewiſe to make wicker work, in which I muſt ingenuouſly confeſs they infinitely out

did us, making themſelves ſeveral pretty neceſſaries and fancies, as baſkets, ſieves, bird cages, and cupboards, as alſo ſtools, beds, and couches, no leſs uſeful than delightful: And now they live the moſt innocent and inoffenſive creatures that ever were ſubdued in the world, wanting nothing but wives to make them a nation.

Thus, kind Sir, have I given you, according to my ability, an impartial account of the various tranſactions that have happened in the iſland ſince your departure to this day; which, bleſſing us with your preſence, ſeems as if it would make us forget our late ſufferings, though our loſſes are not fully retrieved; and yet we have no reaſon to complain againſt the kind Providence of Heaven. When you inſpect your little kingdom, you will find it ſomething improved in general, your flocks increaſed, and your ſubjects augmented: So that from a deſolate iſland, as this was before your wonderful deliverance upon it, here is a viſible proſpect of its becoming a populous, and well governed little kingdom, to your immortal fame and glory.

The End of the Spaniſh *Governour's Relation.*

The Continuation of the Life of Robinſon Cruſoe, *both of thoſe Paſſages that happened during the Time of his Continuance on the Iſland, and after his Departure, till he arrived again in his Native Country.*

THERE is no doubt to ſuppoſe, but that the preceding relation of my faithful *Spaniard* was very agreeable, and no leſs ſurpriſing to me, the young prieſt, and to all that heard it: Nor were theſe people leſs pleaſed with thoſe abſolutely neceſſary utenſils that I brought them, as kinives, ſciſſars, ſpades, ſhovels, and pick axes, with which they made a mighty improvement to their habitations. So much were they affected to wicker work, prompted by the ingenuity of the *Indians* who aſſiſted them, that when I viewed the *Engliſhmens'* colonies, they ſeemed at a diſtance, as though they had lived like bees in a hive: For *Will. Atkins*, who was now become a very induſtrious and ſober man, had made himſelf a tent of baſket work round the outſide; the walls were worked in cloſe as a baſket, in pannels, or ſtrong ſquares of 32 in number, ſtanding about 7 feet high; in the middle was another, not above 22 paces round, but much ſtronger built, being in form eight ſquare, and in the eight corners ſtood eight ſtrong poſts, round the top of which he laid ſtrong pieces, pinned with wooden pins, from which he raiſed a pyramid from the roof, mighty pretty,

I aſſure

I aſſure you, and joined very well together with iron ſpikes which he made himſelf; for he had made him a forge with a pair of wooden bellows, and charcoal for his work, forming an anvil out of one of the iron crows to work upon; and in this manner would he make himſelf hooks, ſtaples, ſpikes, bolts, and hinges. After he had covered the roof of the innermoſt tent, he made it ſo firm between the rafters and the baſket work, thatching that over again with rice ſtraw, and over that a large leaf of a tree, that his houſe was as dry as if it had been tiled or ſlated. The outer circuit was covered, as a leanto, quite round this inner apartment, laying long rafters from the 32 angles, to the top poſts of the inner houſe, about 20 feet diſtant, ſo that there was a ſpace like a walk within the outer wicker wall, and without the inner, near 20 feet in breadth. The inner place he partitioned off with the ſame wicker work, dividing it into ſix fair apartments, every one of which had a door, firſt into the entry of the main tent, and another into the ſpace and walk that was round it, not only convenient for retreat, but for family neceſſaries. Thoſe ſix ſpaces were not taken up in the circumference. What other apartments the outward circle had, were thus ordered: When you were in at the door of the outer circle, there was a paſſage directly to the door of the inner houſe; on either ſide was a wicker partition and a door, by which you went firſt into a large room 22 feet wide, and about 30 long, and through that into another of a ſmaller length; ſo that in the outward circle were ten handſome rooms, ſix of which were only to be come at through the apartments of the inner tent, ſerving as retiring rooms, to the reſpective chambers of the inner circle, and four large warehouſes which went in through one another, two on either hand of the paſſage that led through the outward door to the inner tent. In ſhort, nothing could be built more ingeniouſly, kept more neat, or have better conveniences: And here lived three families, *Will. Atkins*, his companion, their wives and children, and the widow of the deceaſed. As to religion, the men ſeldom taught their wives the knowledge of God, any more than the ſailors' cuſtom of ſwearing by his name. The greateſt improvement their wives had, was, they taught them to ſpeak Engliſh ſo as to be underſtood. None of their children were then above ſix years old. They were all fruitful enough; and, I think, the cook's mate's wife was big of her ſixth child.

So much as to the *Engliſhmen*. When I enquired of the *Spaniards*, about their circumſtances among the ſavages, they told me, that they were a poor miſerable handful of people, that, having no means put into their hands, were abandoned to deſpair, and thought of nothing but ſtarving. One of them confeſſed, that they were in the wrong to think ſo, and for refuſing the aſſiſtance that reaſon offered for their ſupport, as well

well as future deliverance; that grief was a moſt inſignificant paſſion, regarding things paſt remedy, and having no hopes of the good things to come, which was an addition to affliction: All which verified this noted proverb,

In trouble to be troubled.
Is to have trouble doubled.

Nor did his remark end here; for, making obſervations upon my improvements, and of my condition at firſt, infinitely worſe than their's; he told me that *Engliſhmen* had, in their diſtreſs, greater preſence of mind, than thoſe of any other country that he had met with; and that they, and the *Portugueſe*, were the worſt men in the world to ſtruggle under misfortune. When they landed among the ſavages, they found but little proviſion, unleſs they would turn cannibals; there being but a few roots and herbs with little ſubſtance in them, and of which the natives gave them but very ſparingly. Many were the ways they took to civilize and teach the ſavages, but in vain; nor would they own them to be their inſtructors, whoſe lives were owing to their bounty. Their extremities were very great, being many days entirely without food; the ſavages there being more indolent, and leſs devouring, than thoſe who had better ſupplies. Whenever war happened, they aſſiſted theſe people, being compelled thereto, and by which, my faithful *Spaniard* being taken, had like to have been devoured. They had loſt their ammunition, which rendered their fire arms uſeleſs; nor could they uſe the bows and arrows that were given them; ſo that while the armies were at a diſtance they had no chance, but would combat their enemies when cloſed with halberts, and ſharpened ſticks put into the muzzles of their muſkets. They made themſelves targets of wood, covered with the ſkins of wild beaſts; and when one happened to be knocked down, the reſt of the company fought over him till he recovered; and then ſtanding cloſe in a line, they would make their way through a thouſand ſavages. At the return of their friend, who they thought had been entombed in the bowels of their enemies, their joy was inconceivable. Nor were they leſs ſurpriſed at the ſight of the loaves of bread I had ſent them, things that they had not ſeen for ſeveral years, at the ſame time croſſing and bleſſing it, as though it was manna ſent from heaven: But when they knew the errand, and perceived the boat, which was to carry them to the perſon and place from whence ſuch relief came, this ſtruck them with a ſurpriſe of joy, that made ſome of them faint away, and others burſt into tears.

This was the ſummary account that I had from them; ſo that it now becomes neceſſary I inform the reader what I did for them, and in what a condition I left them. As we were all agreed that the ſavages would ſcarce trouble them any

more

more, ſo we had no apprehenſions about it. I told them I was come purely to eſtabliſh them, and not remove them; and upon that occaſion, had not only brought them neceſſaries for convenience and defence, but alſo artificers, and other perſons, both for their neceſſary employments, and to add to their number. They were all together when I thus talked to them; and, before I delivered to them the ſtores I had brought, I aſked them one by one, if they had entirely forgot their old animoſities, would engage in the ſtricteſt friendſhip, and ſhake hands with one another? To this, *Will. Atkins*, with abundance of good humour, ſaid they had afflictions enough to make them all ſober, and enemies enough to make them all friends: As for himſelf, he would live and die among them: owning that what the *Spaniards* had done to him, his own mad humour had made neceſſary for them to do. Nor had the *Spaniards* occaſion to juſtify this proceeding to me; but they told me, that ſince *Will. Atkins* had behaved himſelf ſo valiantly in fight, and at other times ſhewed ſuch a regard to the common intereſt of them all, they had not only forgot all that was paſt, but thought he ought to be as much truſted with arms and neceſſaries as any of them, which they teſtified by making him command next to the Governour; and they moſt heartily embraced the opportunity of giving me this ſolemn aſſurance, that they would never ſeparate their intereſt again as long as they lived.

Well, upon theſe kind declarations of friendſhip, we appointed all of us to dine together the next day, on which I cauſed the ſhip's cook, and his mate, to come on ſhore for that purpoſe, and the cook's mate on land aſſiſted them in dreſſing our dinner. We brought from the ſhip ſix pieces of beef, and four of pork, together with our punch bowl, and materials to fill it; and, in particular, I gave them ten bottles of *French* claret, and ten of *Engliſh* beer, which was very acceptable to them. The *Spaniards* added to our feaſt five whole kids; which being roaſted, three of them were ſent as freſh meat to the ſailors on board, and the other two we ate ourſelves. After our merry and innocent feaſt was over, I began to diſtribute my cargo among them; at firſt I gave them linen ſufficient to make every one of them four ſhirts, and, at the *Spaniard*'s requeſt, made them up ſix. The thin *Engliſh* ſtuffs I allotted to make every one a light coat, like a frock, agreeable to the climate; and left them ſuch a quantity, as to make more upon their decay; as alſo pumps, ſhoes, hats, and ſtockings. I cannot expreſs the pleaſing ſatisfaction which ſat upon the countenances of theſe poor men, when they perceived what care I took of them, as if I had been a common father to them all; and they all engaged never to leave the iſland, till I gave my conſent for their departure. Then I preſented to them the people I brought; as the taylor, ſmith, and the

two

two carpenters; but especially my Jack of all Trades, was a remarkable man among them. My taylor fell immediately to work, and made every man of them a shirt; after which he learned the women to sew and stitch, thereby to become more helpful to their husbands. Neither were the carpenters less useful, taking in pieces their clumsy things, instead of which they made convenient and handsome tables, stools, bedsteads, cupboards, lockers and shelves. But when I carried them to see *Will. Atkins*'s basket house, they owned they never saw such a piece of natural ingenuity before. *I'm sure*, said one of the carpenters, *the man that built this has no need of us; you need, Sir, do nothing but give him tools.*

I divided the tools among them in this manner: To every man I gave a digging spade, a shovel and a rake, as having no harrows or ploughs; and to every separate place a pick axe, a crow, a broad axe, and a saw, with a store for a general supply, should any be broken or worn out. I left them also nails, staples, hinges, hammers, chissels, knives, scissars, and all sorts of tools and iron work; and for the use of the smith three tons of unwrought iron for a supply: And as to arms and ammunition, I stored them even to profusion, or at least sufficient to equip a little army against all opposers whatsoever.

The young man (whose mother was unfortunately starved to death) together with the maid, a pious and well educated young woman, seeing things so well ordered on shore (for I made them accompany me) as also considering they had no occasion to go so long a voyage as to the *East Indies*; they both desired of me, that I would leave them there, and enter them among my subjects. This I readily agreed to, ordering them a plat of ground, on which were three little houses erected, environed with basket work, pallisadoed like *Atkins's*, and adjoining to his plantation. So contrived were their tents that each of them had a room apart to lodge in; while the middle tent was not only their store house, but their place for eating and drinking. At this time the two *Englishmen* removed their habitations to their former place; so that now the island was divided into three colonies: *First*, these I have just now mentioned: *Secondly*, that of *Will. Atkins*, where there were four families of *Englishmen*, with their wives and children, the widow and her children; the young man and the maid, who (by the way) we made a wife of before our departure; three savages, who were slaves; the taylor, smith, (who serve only as gunsmith) and my other celebrated person, called Jack of all Trades. *Thirdly*, my chiefest colony consisted of *Spaniards*, with old *Friday*, at my old habitation, which was my capital city: And surely never was there such a metropolis before, hid in so obscure a grove, that a thousand men might

have

have ranged the island a month, and looking purposely for it, I believe, could not have found it; and they had enlarged its boundaries, both without and within, in a secret and most surprising manner.

But now I think it high time to speak of the young *French* priest, of the order of St. *Benedict*, whose judicious and pious discourses upon sundry occasions, merit an extraordinary observation: Nor can his being a *French Papist Priest*, I presume, gived offence to any of my readers, when they have this assurance from me, that he was a person of the most courteous disposition, extensive charity, and exalted piety. His arguments were always agreeable to reason, and his conversation the most acceptable of any person that I had ever yet met with in my life.

Sir (said he to me one day) since under God (at the same time crossing his breast) you have not only saved my life, but, by permitting me to go this voyage, have granted me the happiness of free conversation, I think it my duty, as my profession obliges me to save what souls I can, by bringing them to the knowledge of some Catholic doctrine, necessary to salvation; but since they are under your immediate government, in gratitude, justice, and decency, for what you have done for me, I shall offer no farther points in religion, than what shall merit your approbation. Pleased with the modesty of his carriage, I told him he should not be the worse used for being of a different persuasion, if, upon that very account, we did not suffer in points of faith, not becoming in a country, where the poor *Indians* ought to be instructed in the knowledge of the true God, and his Son Jesus Christ. To this he replied, That conversation might easily be separated from disputes; that he would discourse with me rather as a gentleman than a religious; but, if we did enter upon religious arguments, upon my desiring the same, that I would give him liberty to defend his own principles. He further added, that he would do all that become him in his office, as a priest, as well as a christian, to procure the happiness of all that were in the ship; that though he could not pray with, he would pray for us, on all occasions: And then he told me several extraordinary events of his life, within a few years past, but particularly in this last, which was the most remarkable: That in this voyage he had the misfortune to be five times shipped and unshipped. His first design was to have gone to *Martinico*, for which he took a ship at St. *Malo*, but was forced into *Lisbon* by bad weather, the vessel running aground in the mouth of the *Tagus*: That from thence he went on board a *Portuguese* ship bound to the *Madeiras*, whose master being but an indifferent mariner, and out of his reckoning, they were drove to *Fial*, where selling their commodity, which was corn, they resolved to take in

their

their loading at the Isle of *May*, and to sail to *Newfoundland*; at the banks of which they met a *French* ship, bound to *Quebeck*, in the river of *Canada*, and from thence to *Martinico*. In this ship he embarked, the master of which dying at *Quebeck*, that voyage was suspended: And lastly, shipping himself for *France*, that ship was destroyed by the fury of the flames, as before has been related: And so our discourse ended for that time.

Another morning he comes to me, just as I was going to visit the *Englishmens'* colony, and tells me, that as he knew the prosperity of the island was my principal desire, so he had something to communicate agreeable to my design, and perhaps might put it, more than he yet thought it was, in the way of the benediction of heaven. How, Sir! said I in a surprise, are we not yet in the way of God's blessing, after all these signal providences and deliverances, of which you have had such an ample relation? He replied, I hope, Sir, you are in the way, and that your good design will prosper; but still there are some among you that are not equally right in their actions: And remember, I beseech you, Sir, that *Achan*, by his crime, removed God's blessing from the camp of the Children of *Israel*; that, though six and thirty were entirely innocent, yet they became the objects of divine vengeance, and bore the weight of the punishment accordingly.

So sensibly was I touched with this discourse, and so satisfied with that ardent piety that enflamed his soul, that I desired him to accompany me to the *Englishmens'* plantations, which he was very glad of, by reason they were the subjects of what he designed to discourse with me about. So we walked on together, and then he began in the following manner:

Sir, said he, I must confess it is a great unhappiness that we disagree in several doctrinal articles of religion; but yet this we acknowledge, that there is a GOD, who, having given us some stated rules for our our service and obedience, we ought not willingly and knowingly to offend, either by neglecting what he has commanded, or doing what he has forbidden: and this too is owned by every Christian, that whenever any people presumptuously sin against God's command, the Almighty withdraws his blessing from them; and therefore every good man ought to prevent such neglect of, or sin against God and his commands, so long as any persons are under his care. Hereupon I thanked him for expressing so great a concern for us, and desired him to explain the particulars of what he had observed; that according to the parable of *Achan*, I might remove that cursed thing from us. Why then, Sir, said he, in the first place, you have four *Englishmen*, who, having taken savage women to their wives, by whom they have had several children, and yet not legally married, as the laws of God and man require; they, I say, Sir, are no less than adulterers,

terers, and, living in adultery, are liable to the curſe of God. I know, Sir, you may objeſt the want of a prieſt or clergymen of any kind; as alſo pen, ink and paper, to write down a contract of marriage, and have it ſigned between them. But neither this nor what the *Spaniſh* Governour has told you, of their chuſing by conſent, can be reckoned a marriage, nor any more than an agreement to keep them from quarrelling among themſelves: For, Sir, the eſſence or ſacrament of matrimony (ſo he called it) not only conſiſts in mutual conſent, but in the legal obligation which compels them to own and acknowledge one another, to abſtain from other perſons, the men to provide for their wives and children, and the women to the ſame, or like conditions, *mutatis mutandis*, on their ſide: whereas theſe men, Sir, upon their own pleaſure, on any occaſion, forſake theſe women to marry others, and by diſowning their children, ſuffer them utterly to periſh. And now, Sir, added he, can God be honoured in [illegible] unlawful liberty as this? How can a bleſſing ſucceed [illegible] endeavours, if men are allowed to live in open adultery? Indeed I was ſtruck with the thing itſelf, and they were much to blame that no formal contract had been made, though it had been breaking a ſtick between them, to engage them to live as man and wife, never to ſeparate, but love, cheriſh, and comfort one another all their lives. But, Sir, ſaid I, when they took theſe women, I was not here; and if it is adultery, 'tis paſt my remedy, and I cannot help it. 'Tis true, Sir, anſwered the young Prieſt, you cannot be charged with that part of the crime which was done in your abſence: But, I beſeech you, don't flatter yourſelf that you are under no obligation, now, to put a period to it; which if you neglect to do, the guilt will be entirely on you, alone; ſince it is certainly in no body's power but your's to alter their condition. I muſt confeſs I was ſo dull, that I thought he meant I ſhould part them, which, knowing it would put the whole iſland in confuſion, I told him I could not conſent to upon any account whatſoever. Sir, ſaid he, in a great ſurpriſe, I do not mean that you ſhould ſeparate, but marry them: I mean in your way by a written contract, ſigned by both man and woman, and by all the witneſſes preſent, which all the *European* laws decree to be of ſufficient efficacy. Amazed with ſuch true piety and ſincerity, and conſidering the validity of a written contract, I acknowledged all that he ſaid to be very juſt and kind, and that I would diſcourſe with the men about it: Neither could I ſee what reaſon they could have not to let him marry them, whoſe authority in that affair is owned to be as authentic as if they were married by any of our clergymen in *England*.

The next complaint he had to make me was this, That theſe *Engliſh* ſubjects of mine, having lived with theſe women ſeven

years, who being of good underſtanding, and capable of inſtruction, having learnt them not only to ſpeak, but to read *Engliſh*; all this while they had never taught them any thing of the Chriſtian religion, or the knowledge of God; much leſs in what manner he ought to be ſerved. And is not this an unaccountable neglect? ſaid he, warmly. Depend upon it, God Almighty will call them to account for ſuch contempt. And though I am not of your religion, yet I ſhould be glad to ſee theſe people releaſed from the devil's power, and be ſaved by the principles of the Chriſtian religion, the knowledge of God, of a Redeemer, the reſurrection, and of a future ſtate. But, as it is not yet too late, if you pleaſe to give me leave to inſtruct them, I doubt not but I ſhall ſupply this great defect, by bringing them into the great circle of chirſtianity, even while you continue in the iſland.

I could hold no longer, but, embracing him, told him, with a thouſand than[illegible]uld grant what he requeſted; and deſired him to [illegible]n the third article, which he did in the following manner:

Sir, ſaid he, it ſhould be a maxim among all Chriſtians, That chriſtian knowledge ought to be propagated by all poſſible means, and on all occaſions. Upon this account, our church ſends miſſionaries into *Perſia*, *India*, and *China*, men who are willing to die for the ſake of God, and [illegible]e Chriſtian faith, in order to bring poor infidels into the way [illegible] ſalvation. Now, Sir, here is an opportunity to convert ſeven and thirty poor ſavages, that I wonder how you can paſs by ſuch an occaſion of doing good, which is really worth the expence of a man's whole life.

I muſt confeſs I was ſo confounded at his diſcourſe, that I could not tell how to anſwer him: Sir, ſaid he, ſeeing me in diſorder, I ſhall be very ſorry if I have given you offence: No, Sir, ſaid I, I'm rather confounded; and you know my circumſtances, that being bound to the *Eaſt Indies*, in a merchant ſhip, I cannot wrong the owners ſo much, as to detain the ſhip here, the men lying at victuals and wages on their account. If I ſtay above twelve days, I muſt pay 3*l. ſterling per diem*, demurrage, nor muſt the ſhip ſtay above eight [illegible] more, ſo that I am unable to engage in this work, unleſs I would leave the ſhip, and ſo be reduced to my former condition. The prieſt, though he owned this was hard upon me, yet laid it to my conſcience, whether the bleſſing of ſaving ſeven and thirty ſouls, was not worth venturing all that I had in the world? Sir, ſaid I, 'tis very true; but, as you are an eccleſiaſtic, it naturally falls into your profeſſion: why therefore don't you rather offer to undertake it yourſelf, than preſs me to it? Upon this he turned about, making a very low bow. I moſt humbly thank God and you, Sir, ſaid he, for ſo bleſſed a call, and

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moſt willingly undertake ſo glorious an office, which will ſufficiently compenſate all the difficulties and hazards I have gone through, in a long and uncomfortable voyage.

While he was thus ſpeaking, I could diſcover a rapture in his face, by his colour coming and going; at the ſame time his eyes ſparkled like fire; with all the ſigns of the moſt zealous tranſports. And when I aſked whether he was in earneſt, Sir, ſaid he, it was to preach to the *Indians* I conſented to come along with you; theſe infidels, even in this little iſland, are infinitely of more worth than my poor life; and, ſo I am, the happy inſtrument of ſaving theſe poor creatures' ſouls, I care not if I never ſee my native country again. The only thing I beg of you more is, that you would leave *Friday* with me, to be my interpreter, without whoſe aſſiſtance neither of us will underſtand each other.

This requeſt very ſenſibly troubled me, firſt, upon *Friday*'s being bred a Proteſtant, and ſecondly for the affection I bore to him for his fidelity: But immediately the remembrance of *Friday*'s father coming into my head, I recommended him to him, as having learned *Spaniſh*, which the Prieſt alſo underſtood, and ſo was thoroughly ſatisfied with him.

When we came to the *Engliſhmen*, after I had told them what neceſſary things I had done for them, I talked to them of the ſcandalous life they led; told them what notice the Clergyman had taken of it, and aſked them if they were married men, or batchelors? They anſwered two of them were widowers, and the other three ſingle men, But, ſaid I, with what conſcience can you call theſe your wives, by whom you have ſo many children, and yet are not lawfully married? They all ſaid, that they took them before the Governour as ſuch, having nobody elſe to marry them, which they thought as legal as if they had had a parſon. No doubt, ſaid I, but in the ſight of God you are ſo: But, unleſs I am aſſured of your honeſt intent, never to deſert theſe poor creatures, I can do nothing more for you, neither can you expect God's bleſſing while you live in ſuch an open courſe of adultery. Hereupon *Will. Atkins*, who ſpoke for the reſt, told me, that they believed their wives the moſt innocent and virtuous creatures in the world; that they would never forſake them while they had breath; and that if there was a Clergyman in the ſhip, they would be married to them with all their hearts. I told you before, ſaid I, that I have a miniſter with me, who ſhall marry you to-morrow morning, if you are willing; ſo I would have you conſult to-night with the reſt about it. I told him the Clergyman was a *Frenchman*, and knew not a word of *Engliſh*, but that I would act as a clerk between them. And indeed this buſineſs met with ſuch ſpeedy ſucceſs, that in a few minutes after they all told me, they were ready to be formal-

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ly married as soon as I pleased, with which informing the Priest, he was exceedingly rejoiced.

Nothing now remained, but that the women were to be made sensible of the meaning of the thing, with which being well-satisfied, they and their husbands attended at my apartment the next morning: There was my priest, habited in a black vest, something like a cassock, with a sash round it, much resembling a Minister, and I was his interpreter. But the seriousness of his behaviour, and the scruples he made of marrying the women who were not baptized, gave them an exceeding reverence for his person: Nor indeed would he marry them at all, till he obtained my liberty to discourse both with the men and women; and then he told them, That, in the sight of all indifferent men, and in the sense of the laws of society, they had lived in open adultery, which nothing now, but their consent to marry, or final separation could put an end to; and even here was a difficulty, with respect to the laws of Christian matrimony, in marrying a professed Christian to an Heathen idolater, ;unbaptized but yet there was time enough to make them profess the name of Christ, without which nothing could be done; that besides, he believed themselves very indifferent Christians, and consequently had not discoursed with their wives on that subject; and that unless they promised him to do so, he could not marry them, as being expressly forbidden by the laws of God.

All this they heard attentively, and owned readily: But, Lord, Sir, said *Will. Atkins* to me, how should we teach them religion, who know nothing of it ourselves? And should we talk to our wives of God, Jesus Christ, Heaven and Hell, they would only laugh at us, who never yet have practised religion, but on the contrary all manner of wickedness. *Will. Atkins*, said I, can't you tell your wife she's in the wrong; and that her Gods are idols, which can neither hear, speak or understand; but that our God, who has made, can destroy all things; that he rewards the good, and punishes the wicked; and at last will bring us to judgment: Can't you tell her these things? That's true, said *Atkins*, but then she'll tell me 'tis utterly false, since I am not punished and sent to the devil, who have been such a wicked creature. These words I interpreted to the priest: O! said he, tell him his repentance will make him a very good minister to his spouse, qualifying him to preach on the mercy and long suffering of a merciful Being, who desires not the death of a sinner; that he even defers damnation to the last judgment, which will lead to the doctrine of it, and will make him an excellent preacher to his wife.—This I repeated to *Atkins*, who being more than ordinarily affected with it, replied, I know all this, Sir, and a great deal more; but how can I have the impudence to talk thus to my wife,

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when my conſcience witneſſes againſt me? Alas! (ſaid he, with tears in his eyes; and giving a great ſigh) as for repenting that is for ever paſt me. Paſt you! *Atkins*, ſaid I, what do you mean? I know well enough, ſaid he, what I mean, I mean 'tis too late.

When I told the prieſt what he ſaid, the poor affectionate man could not refrain from weeping: But recovering himſelf, pray, ſir, ſaid he, aſk him, if he is contented that it is too late; or is he concerned, and wiſhes it were not ſo? This queſtion I put fairly to *Atkins*, who repled in a paſſion, how can I be eaſy in a ſtate of damnation, which I know muſt terminate in my ruin: For I really believe ſome time or other, I ſhall cut my throat, to put a period both to my life and to the terrors of my conſcience.

At this the clergyman ſhook his head: Sir, ſaid he, pray tell him it is not too late! Chriſt will give him repentance, if he has recourſe to the merit of his Paſſion. Does he think he is beyond the power of Divine mercy? There may indeed be a time when provoked mercy will no longer ſtrive, but never too late for men to repent in this world. I told *Atkins* every word the Prieſt had ſaid, who then parted from us, to talk to his wife; while we diſcourſed with the reſt: But thoſe were very ſtupid in religious matters, yet all of them promiſed to do their endeavours to make their wives turn Chriſtians; and, upon theſe promiſes, the Prieſt married the three couple. But, as *Atkins* was the only ſincere convert, and of more ſenſe than the reſt, my Clergyman was earneſtly enquiring after him: Sir, ſaid he, let's walk out of this labyrinth, and I dare ſay we ſhall find this poor man preaching to his wife already. And indeed we found it true; for, coming to the edge of the wood, we perceived *Atkins*, and his ſavage wife, ſitting under the ſhade of a buſh in very earneſt diſcourſe: He pointed to the ſun, to the quarters of the earth, to himſelf, to her, the wood, and the trees. Immediately we could perceive him ſtart upon his feet, fall down upon his knees, and lift up both his hands; at which the tears ran down my Clergyman's cheeks; but our great misfortune was, that we could not hear one word that paſſed between them. Another time he would embrace her, wiping the tears from her eyes, kiſſing her with the greateſt tranſports, and then both kneeled down for ſome minutes together. Such raptures of joy did this occaſion in my young Prieſt, that he could ſcarcely contain himſelf: And a little after this, we obſerved by her motion, as frequently lifting up her hands and laying them on her breaſt, that ſhe was mightily affected with his doctrine; and ſo they withdrew from our ſight.

When we came back, we found them both waiting to be called in; upon which we agreed to examine him alone, and

ſo I began thus to diſcourſe him. Prithee, *Will. Atkins*, ſaid I, what education had you? What was your father?

W. A. A better man than ever I ſhall be: He was, Sir, a Clergyman, who gave me good inſtruction, or correction, which I deſpiſed, like a brute as I was, and murdered my poor father.

Prieſt. Ha! a murderer.*

R. C. What, did you kill him with your hands?

W. A. No, Sir, I did not cut his throat, but broke his heart; by the moſt unnatural return of diſobedience to the tendereſt and beſt of fathers.

R. C. Well, I pray God grant you repentance; I did not aſk you to extort a confeſſion; but I aſked you, becauſe I ſee you have more knowledge of what is good than your companions.

W. A. O, Sir, whenever I look back upon my paſt life, my conſcience upbraids me with my father; the ſins againſt our parents make the deepeſt wounds, and their weight lies the haviest on the mind.

R. C. You talk, *Will.* too feelingly and ſenſibly for me: I am not able to bear it.

W. A. You bear, it, Sir! you know nothing of it.

R. C. But yes, *Atkins*, I do; and every ſhore, valley, and tree in this iſland, witneſs the anguiſh of my ſoul for my undutifulneſs to my kind father, whom I have murdered likewiſe; yet my repentance falls infinitely ſhort of yours. But *Will.* how comes the ſenſe of this matter to touch you juſt now?

W. A. Sir, the work you have ſet me about has occaſioned it; for, talking to my wife about God and religion, ſhe has preached me ſuch a ſermon, that I ſhall retain it in laſting remembrance.

R. C. No, no, 'tis your own moving pious arguments to her, has made conſcience fling them back upon you. But, pray, *Atkins*, inform us what paſſed between you and your wife, and in what manner did you begin?

W. A. I talked to her of the laws of marriage, the reaſon of ſuch compacts, whereby order and juſtice is maintained; without which, men would run from their wives and children, to the diſſolution of families and inheritances.

R. C. Well, and what did ſhe ſay to all this?

W. A. Sir, we began our diſcourſe in the following manner; which I ſhall repeat exactly, according to my mean capacity, if you think it worth your while to honour it with your attention.

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* *Here the Prieſt ſtarted and looked pale, as thinking he had really killed his father.*

The DIALOGUE *between* Will. Atkins, *and his Wife, in the Wood.*

Wife. YOU tell me marriage God appoint : have you God in your country ?

W. A. Yes, child, God is in every nation.

Wife. No, great old *Benamuckee* God is my country, not yours.

W. A. My dear, God is in heaven, which he made, the earth, the ſea, and all therein.

Wife. Why you not tell me much long ago ?

W. A. My dear, I've been a wicked wretch, having a long time lived without the knowledge of God in the world.

Wife. What, not know great God in own nation ? No do good ting ? No ſay O to him ? That's ſtrange !

W. A. But, my dear, many live as if there was no God in heaven for all that.

Wife. Why God ſuffer this ? Why makee not live well ?

W. A. It is our own faults, child.

Wife. But if he much great, can makee kill, why no makee kill when no ſerve him ? No be good mans, no cry O to him ?

W. A. That is true, my dear, he may ſtrike us dead, but his abundant mercy ſpareth us.

Wife. Did not you tell God tankee for that ?

W. A. No, I have neither thanked him for his mercy, nor feared him for his power.

Wife. Then me not believe you God be good, not makee kill, when you makee him angry.

W. A. Alas ! muſt my wicked life hinder you from believing in him.

Wife. How can me tink your God live there ? (pointing to heaven) Sure he no tell what you do there.

W. A. Yes, yes, my dear, he hears us ſpeak, ſees what we do, and knows what we even think.

Wife. Where then makee power ſtrong, when he hears you curſe, ſwear de great down ?

W. A. My dear, this ſhews he is indeed a God, and not a man, who has not ſuch tender mercy.

Wife. Mercy ! what you call mercy ?

W. A. He pities and ſpares us ; as he is our great Creator, ſo alſo is he our tender father.

Wife. So God never angry, never kill wicked, then he no good, no great mighty.

W. A. O, my dear don't ſay ſo, he is both ; and many times he ſhews terrible examples of his judgement and vengeance.

Wife.

Wife. Then you makee de bargain with him; you do bad ting, he no hurt you, he hurt other mans.

W. A. No indeed, my ſins are all preſumptions upon his goodneſs.

Wife. Well, and yet not makee you dead? and you give him no thankee neither?

W. A. 'Tis true, I am an ungrateful, unthankful dog, that I am.

Wife. Why you ſay, he makee you, why makee you no much better then?

W. A. 'Tis I alone that have deformed myſelf, and abuſed his goodneſs.

Wife. Pray makee God know me, me no makee him angry, no do bad thing.

W. A. You mean, my dear, that you deſire I would teach you to know God: Alas! poor dear creature! he muſt teach thee, and not I. But I'll pray earneſtly to him to direct thee, and to forgive me, a miſerable ſinner. Hereupon I went a little diſtance, and, kneeling down, prayed earneſtly to God to enlighten her mind and to pardon her ſins: When this was done, we continued our diſcourſe thus.

Wife. What you put down knee for? For what hold up hand? Who you ſpeak to?

W. A. My dear, I bowed in token of ſubmiſſion to him that made me, and prayed that he would open your eyes and underſtanding.

Wife. And can he do that too? And will he hear what you ſay?

W. A. Yes, my dear, he bids us pray, and has given his promiſe that he will hear us.

Wife. When did he bid us pray? What, do you hear him ſpeak?

W. A. No, my dear, but God has ſpoken formerly to good men from heaven; and by divine revelation, they have written all his laws down in a book.

Wife. O, where dat good book?

W. A. I have it not now by me; but, one time or other, I ſhall get it for you to read. Then he embraced her with great affection.

Wife. Pray tell-ame how God teachee them write that book?

W. A. By that we know him to be God.

Wife. What way, what rule you know him?

W. A. Becauſe he teaches what is good, juſt, and holy; and forbids all wicked and abominable actions that incur his diſpleaſure.

Wife. O me fain underſtand that, and if he do all things you ſay he do, ſurely he hear me ſay O to him; he makee me

good, if I wiſh to be good ; he no kill me if I love him ; me tink, believe him great God ; me ſay O to him along with you, my dear.

Here the poor man fell upon his knees, and made her kneel down by him, praying in the greateſt fervency, that God would inſtruct her by his holy ſpirit ; and that ſome time God, by his providence, would ſend them a bible for both their inſtruction. And ſuch was the early piety of his new convert, that ſhe made him promiſe never to forſake God any more ; leſt, being made dead, as ſhe called it, ſhe ſhould not only want her inſtructor, but himſelf be miſerable in a long eternity.

Such a ſurpriſing account as this was, proved very affecting to us both, but particularly to the young Clegyman, who was mightily concerned he could not talk to her himſelf : Sir, ſaid he, there is ſomething more to be done to this woman than to marry her : I mean that ſhe ought to be baptized. To this I preſently agreed : Pray, ſaid he again, aſk her huſband, whether he has ever talked to her of Jeſus Chriſt, the ſalvation of ſinners, the nature of faith and redemption in and by him, of the holy ſpirit, the reſurrection ; laſt judgment, and a future ſtate ; but the poor fellow melted into tears at this queſtion, ſaying, that he had ſaid ſomething to her of theſe things, but his own conſcience terrifying him with the moſt dreadful apprehenſions, he was afraid leſt her knowledge of it ſhould make her rather contemn religion, than embrace it ; but if I would diſcourſe with her, it was probable my labour would not be in vain. Accordingly I called her in, and placing myſelf as interpreter between the religious prieſt and the woman, I entreated him to go on : But ſurely never was ſuch a ſermon preached by any clergyman in theſe latter days of the world, which had ſo much zeal, knowledge and ſincerity : In ſhort he brought the woman to embrace the knowledge of Chriſt, and of redemption by him, with ſo ſurpriſing a degree of underſtanding, that ſhe made it her own requeſt to be baptized.

And now he performed his office in the ſacrament of Baptiſm, firſt by ſaying ſome words over to himſelf in *Latin*, and then, aſking me to give her a name, as being her godfather, he poured a whole diſhful of water upon the woman's head, ſaying, MARY, I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, ſo that none could know what religion he was of ; and after, he pronounced the benediction in *Latin*. Thus, the woman being made a Chriſtian, he married her to *Will. Atkins*, which being finiſhed, he affectionately exhorted him to lead a holy life for the future ; that, ſince the Almighty, by the convictions of his conſcience, had honoured him to be the inſtrument of his wife's converſion, he ſhould not diſhonour the grace of God, leſt, while the ſavage was converted, the inſtrument ſhould be caſt away. And thus

ended

ended the ceremony, which made it the moſt pleaſant and agreeable day I ever paſſed in my life.

The affairs of the iſland being ſettled, I was preparing to go on board, when the young man, whoſe mother was ſtarved, came to me, ſaying, That, as he underdood I had a clergyman with me, who had married the *Engliſhmen* with ſavages, he had a match to make between two Chriſtians, which he deſired might be finiſhed before I departed. But thinking it was himſelf that had courted his mother's maid, I perſuaded him not to do any thing raſhly upon the account of his ſolitary circumſtances; that the maid was an unequal match for him, both in reſpect to ſubſtance and years; and that it was very probable he would live to return to his own country, where he might have a far better choice. At theſe words, he ſmilingly interrupted me, thanking me for my good advice; that, as he had nothing to beg of me, but a ſmall ſettlement, with a ſervant or two, or ſome few neceſſaries; ſo he hoped I would not be unmindful of him when I returned to *England*, but give his letters to his friends; and that when he was redeemed, the plantation, and all its improvements, however valuable, ſhould be returned to me again: But, as for the marriage he propoſed, why truly it was between my Jack of all Trades, and the maid *Suſan*.

Indeed I was agreeably ſurprized at the mentioning this match, which ſeemed very ſuitable; the one being a very ingenious fellow, and the other an excellent, dexterous, and ſenſible houſewife, fit to be governeſs of the whole iſland: So we married them the ſame day; and as I was her father, and gave her away, ſo I gave her a handſome portion, and appointed her and her huſbond a large convenient ſpace of ground for their plantation. The ſharing out of the land to them, I left to *Will. Atkins*, who really very juſtly divided it to every perſon's ſatisfaction: They only deſired one general writing, under my hand, for the whole, which I cauſed to be drawn up, ſigned, and ſealed to them, ſetting out their bounds, and giving them a right to the whole poſſeſſion of their reſpective plantations, with their improvements, to them and their heirs, reſerving all the reſt of the iſland as my own property. and a certain rent for every particular plantation, after 11 years. As to their laws and government, I exhorted them to love one another: And as to the *Indians*, who lived on a neck by themſelves, I allotted three or four of them plantations, and the reſt willingly choſe to become ſervants to all the other families, by which means they were employed in uſeful labour, and fared much better than they did before. Thus the ſavages, being mixed with the Chriſtians, the work of the converſion of the *Indians* might be ſet on foot by the latter, in the clergyman's abſence, to our equal ſatisfaction. But how, ſaid the young

Prieſt,

Priest, shall I know that the Christians will do their parts to instruct them; I told him we would call them all together, that we should speak to the *Spaniards*, who were Papists, and I to the *English*, who were Protestants, and make them promise that they would never make any distinction in religion, but teach the general true knowledge of God, and his Son Jesus Christ, in order to convert the poor savages: And this indeed they all promised us accordingly.

When I came to *Will. Atkins*'s house, I found his baptized wife, and the young woman newly married to my Jack of all Trades, were become great intimates, and discoursing of religion together: O Sir, said *Will. Atkins*, when God has sinners to reconcile to himself, he never wants an instructor: I knew I was unworthy of so good a work, and therefore this young woman has been sent hither, as it were from heaven, who is sufficient to convert a whole island of savages. The young woman blushed, and was going to rise, but I desired her to sit still, and hoped that God would bless her in so good a work: And then, pulling out a Bible, which I brought on purpose in my pocket for him; here *Atkins*, said I, here is an assistant that perhaps you had not before. So confounded was the poor man, that it was some time before he could speak; at last, turning to his wife, my dear, said he, did I not tell you that God could hear what we said? Here is the book I prayed for when you and I kneeled under the bush: God then heard us, and now has sent it. The woman was surprised, and thought God had really sent that individual book from heaven; but I turned to the young woman, and desired her to explain to the new convert, that God may properly be said to answer our petitions, when, in the course of his Providence, such particular things as we petitioned for, do come to pass. This the young woman did effectually; but surely *Will. Atkins*'s joy cannot be expressed; no man in the world being more thankful for any thing, than he was for this bible, nor desire it from a better principle.

After several religious discourses, I desired the young woman to give me an account of the anguish she felt when she was starving to death for hunger; to which she readily consented, and began in the following manner:

"Sir, said she, all our victuals being gone, after I had fasted one day, my stomach was very sickish, and, at the approach of night, I was inclined to yawning and sleeping. When I slept upon the couch three hours: Three hours after, my stomach being more and more sickish, I laid down again, but could not sleep, being very faint and ill. Thus I passed the second day in a strange variety, first hungry, then sick again, with reachings to vomit. That night I dreamt that I was at *Barbadoes*, buying plenty of provisions, and dining heartily.

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But when I awaked, my ſpirits were exceedingly ſunk to find myſelf in the extremity of famine. There was but one glaſs of wine, which being mixed with ſugar, I drank up, but, for want of ſubſtance to digeſt upon, the fumes of it got into my head, and made me ſenſeleſs for ſome time. The third day, I was ſo ravenous and furious, that I could have ate a little child had it come in my way; during which time I was as mad as any creature in Bedlam. In one of theſe fits I fell down, and ſtruck my face againſt the corner of a pallet bed, where my miſtreſs lay: The blood guſhed out of my noſe, but by my exceſſive bleeding, both the violence of the fever, and the ravenous part of the hunger abated. After, I grew ſick again, ſtrove to vomit, but could not; then bleeding a ſecond time, I ſwooned away as dead; coming to myſelf again, I had a dreadful gnawing pain at my ſtomach, which went off towards night with a longing deſire for food. I took a draught of water and ſugar, but it came up again; then I drank water without ſugar, and that ſtayed with me. I laid me down on the bed, praying God he would take me away; after I had ſlumbered, I thought myſelf a dying, therefore recommending my ſoul to God, wiſhed ſomebody would throw me into the ſea. All this while my departing miſtreſs lay by me. The laſt bit of bread ſhe had, ſhe gave to her dear child, my young maſter. The morning after, I fell into a violent paſſion of crying, and after that into hunger. I eſpied the blood that came from my noſe in a baſon, which I immediately ſwallowed up. At night I had the uſual variations, as pain in the ſtomach, ſick, ſleepy, and ravenous; and I had no thoughts but that I ſhould die before morning. Now came on a terrible griping in my bowels: Then I heard my young maſter's terrible lamentations, that his mother was dead! And, ſoon after the ſailors cried, a ſail, a ſail, hallooing as if they were diſtracted, for joy of that relief, which we afterwards received from your hands."

Surely this is ſuch a diſtinct account of ſtarving to death, that I believe few ever met with the like: But to return to the diſpoſition of things among my people. I did not take any notice to them of the ſloop that I had framed, neither would I leave them the two pieces of braſs cannon, or the two quarter deck guns that I had on board; leſt, upon any diſguſt, they ſhould have ſeparated, or turned pirates, and ſo made the iſland a den of thieves, inſtead of a plantation of ſober pious people. But, without theſe things, leaving them in a flouriſhing condition, with a promiſe to ſend them fuſther relief from *Braſil*; as ſheep, hogs, and cows (being obliged to kill the latter at ſea, having no hay to feed them) I went on board the ſhip again the firſt of *May*, 1605, having been twenty days among them; and the next morning giving them a ſalute of five guns at parting, we ſet ſail for the *Braſils*; but the third day, towards evening,

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there happening a calm, and yet being by a ſtrong current drove to the N. N. E. towards the land ſide, we perceived the ſea covered as it were with ſomething very black, not eaſily to be diſcovered at firſt: Upon which our chief mate aſcending the ſhrouds a little way, and taking a view with a perſpective glaſs, he cries out, it is an army. An army, you fool! ſaid I, What do you mean? Nay, Sir, ſaid he, don't be angry; I aſſure you 'tis not only an army, but a fleet too; I believe there are a thouſand canoes paddling along, and making haſte towards us too.

Indeed every one of us were ſurpriſed at this relation; and my nephew, the captain, could not tell what to think of it, but imagined we ſhould all be devoured. Nor was I free from concern, when I conſidered how much we were becalmed, and what a ſtrong current ſet towards the ſhore: However, I encouraged him not to be afraid, but bring the ſhip to an anchor, as ſoon as we were certain that we muſt engage them. We accordingly did ſo, and furled all our ſails: As to the ſavages, we feared nothing but their ſetting the ſhip on fire; to prevent which, I ordered them to get their boats out, and faſten them, one cloſe by the head and the other by the ſtern, well manned, with ſheets and buckets to extinguiſh the flames, ſhould it ſo happen. But when the ſavages came up, they were a horrid ſight indeed, but there were not ſo many as the mate had ſaid; for, inſtead of a thouſand canoes, they were about one hundred and twenty, though indeed they were too many, ſeveral of theſe canoes containing above ſixteen or ſeventeen men.

As they approached near us, they ſeemed to be in the greateſt amazement, and not knowing what to make of us, they rowed round the ſhip, which occaſioned us to call to the men in the boats, not to ſuffer them to come near them. Hereupon they beckoned to the ſavages to keep back, which they accordingly did; but, at their retreat, they let fly about 50 arrows among us, and very much wounded one of our men in the long boat. I called to them not to fire upon any account, but handing them down ſome deal boards, the carpenters made them a kind of fence to ſhield them from the arrows. In half an hour after, they came ſo near a ſtern of us, that we had a perfect ſight of them; then they rowed a little farther out, till they came directly broad ſide with us, and then approached ſo near us they could hear us ſpeak. This made me order all our men to keep cloſe, and get their guns ready; in the mean time I ordered *Friday* to go out upon deck, and aſk them in his language what they meant. No ſooner did he do ſo, but ſix of the ſavages, who were in the foremoſt canoe, ſtooping down, ſhewed us their naked backſides, as much as to ſay in *Engliſh*, kiſs our ———; but *Friday* quickly knew what this meant, by immediately crying out they were going to ſhoot; unfortunately

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ly for him poor creature! who fell under a cloud of three hundred arrows, no less than seven piercing through his body, killing one of the best of servants, and faithfullest of companions in all my solitudes and afflictions.

So enraged was I at the death of poor *Friday*, that I ordered the guns, which were charged before only with powder to frighten them, to be loaded with small shot; nor did the gunners fail in their aim, but, at this broadside, split and overset thirteen or fourteen of their canoes, no doubt killed several of them, and set the rest a swimming: The others, frightened out of their wits, little regarding their fellows a drowning, scoured away as fast as they could; but our men took up one poor wretch, swimming for his life, an hour after. He was so sullen at first, that he would neither eat nor speak; but I took a way to cure him, by ordering them to throw him into the sea, which they did, and then he came swimming to them like a cork; calling, in his tongue, I supppose, to save him. So we took him on board, but it was a long time before we could make him speak or understand *English*; yet, when we taught him, he told us, they were going with their kings to fight a great battle: And when we asked him what made them come up to us? He said, *To makee de great wonder look.* By which it is to be noted, that these natives, and those of *Africa*, always add two E's at the end of *English* words, as *makee takee*, and the like, which it is a very difficult thing to break them of.

And now being under sail, I cannot but take my last farewel of poor honest *Friday!* And indeed we interred him with all possible decency and solemnity, by putting him into a coffin, and committing him to the deep, at the same time causing eleven guns to be fired for him: And thus ended the life of one of the most grateful, faithful, honest, and affectionate servants, that ever any man was blest with in the world.

Having now a fair wind for *Brasil*, in about twelve days time, we made land in the latitude of five degrees south of the line. Four days we kept on S. by E. in sight of the shore, when we made Cape *St. Augustine*, and, in three days, we came to an anchor off the bay of *All Saints*. But it was with great difficulty I obtained leave to hold correspondence here on shore; for neither the figure of my partner, my two merchant trustees, nor the fame of my wonderful preservation in the island, could procure me that favour, till such time as the Prior of the Monastery of the *Augustines* (to whom I had given 500 moidores) obtained leave from the Governour for me personally, with the captain, and one more, together with eight sailors, to come on shore, and, upon this condition, that we should not land any goods out of the ship, or carry any person away without licence? But, however, with difficulty, I got on shore three bales of *English* goods; as fine broad cloth, stuffs, and some linen, which

which I brought as a prefent for my partner; who had fent me on board a prefent of frefh provifions, wine, and fweet meats, worth above thirty moidores, including fome tobacco, and three or four fine gold medals.

And now I delivered my partner, in goods, to the value of £100 *fterling*, and obliged him to fet up the floop I brought for the ufe of my ifland, in order to fend them refrefhments: Nor did he fail in this, but had the veffel finifhed in a few days, to the mafter of which I gave particular inftructions to find the place. I foon loaded him with a fmall cargo, and one of my failors offered to fettle there, upon my letter to the *Spanifh* Governour, if I would allot him tools and a plantation. This I willingly granted, and gave him the favage we had taken prifoner to be his flave. All things being ready for the voyage, my old partner told me, there was an acquaintance of his, a *Brafil* planter, who having fallen under the difpleafure of the church, and in the fear of the inquifition, which obliged him to be concealed, would be glad of fuch an opportunity to make his efcape, with his wife and two daughters; and if I would allot them a plantation in my ifland, he would give them a fmall ftock to begin with, for that the officers had already feized his effects and eftate, and left him nothing but a little houfehold ftuff and two flaves. This requeft I prefently granted, concealing him and his family on board our fhip, till fuch time as the floop (where all the effects were) was got out of the bay, and then we put them on board, who carried them fome materials and plants for planting fugar canes along with them. By this floop, among other things, I fent my fubjects three milch cows, and five calves, about 22 hogs, three fows big with pig, two mares and a ftallion. I alfo engaged three *Portuguefe* women to go for the fake of the *Spaniards*, which, with the perfecuted man's two daughters, were fufficient, fince the reft had wives of their own, though in another country: All which cargo arrived fafe, no doubt, to their exceeding comfort; who, with this addition, were about fixty or feventy people, befides children.

Here it was that my truly honeft and pious clergyman left me; for a fhip being ready to fet fail for *Lifbon*, he afked me leave to go thither; but I affure you it was with the greateft reluctance I parted from fuch a perfon, whofe virtue and piety merited the greateft efteem.

When we failed from the *Brafils*, we made directly over the *Atlantic* ocean to the *Cape of Good Hope*, having a tolerable good voyage, fteering for the moft part S. E. We were on a trading voyage, and had a fupercargo on board, who was to direct all the fhip's motions after fhe arrived at the Cape; only being limited to a certain number of days for ftay, by charter party, at the feveral ports fhe was to go to; but all this belonged

longed to my nephew the captain, and the supercargo, and was none of my business. At the Cape we only took in fresh water, and then sailed for the coast of *Coromandel*, being informed that a *French* man of war of fifty guns, and two large merchant ships were sailed for the *Indies*, but we heard no more of them.

The first place we touched at was the island of *Madagascar*; where, though the inhabitants are naturally fierce and treacherous, formidably armed with bows and lances; yet, for some time they treated us civilly enough; and, in exchange of knives, scissars, and other trifles, they brought us eleven good fat bullocks, which we took partly for present fresh victuals, and the remainder to salt for the ship's use.

So curious was I to view every corner of the world where I came to, that I went on shore as often as I could; when one evening, numbers of the people stood gazing at us at a distance, yet we thought ourselves in no danger, because they had used us kindly. However, we cut three boughs out of a tree, sticking them at a distance from us, which, it seems, in that country, is not only a token of truce and amity, but, when poles or boughs are set up on the other side, it is a sign the truce is accepted: Yet there is one thing to be regarded, that neither party must come beyond one another's three poles or boughs; so that the middle space is not only secure, but is also allowed like a market for traffick and commerce. They stick up their lances and javelins at the first poles, and come on unarmed; but, if any violence is offered, away they run to their poles, take up their weapons, and then the truce is at an end. One evening it happened, when we went on shore, a greater number of people than usual, both men and women, honestly traded among us for such toys as we had, with such great civility, that we made us a little tent of large boughs of trees, some of the men resolving to lie on shore all night. But, for my part, I and some others took our lodging in the boat, with boughs of trees spread over it, having a sail spread at the bottom to lie upon; when, about two o'clock in the morning, we heard the firing of five muskets, as also our men crying out for help, or else they should all be murdered: Nor scarce had we time to get the boat ashore, but that our men came and plunged themselves into the water, having above four hundred men at their heels: We took up seven of the men, three of them very much wounded, and one left behind killed, while the enemy poured their arrows so thick among us, that we were forced to make a barricade, with boards lying at the side of the boat, to shield us from danger: And having got ready our fire arms, we returned them a volley, which no doubt wounded several of them, as we could hear by their cries. In this condition we lay till break of day, and then, making signals of

distress

diſtreſs to the ſhip, which my nephew, the captain, heard and underſtood, he weighed anchor, and ſtood as near the ſhore as poſſible, and then ſent another boat with ten hands in her to aſſiſt us; but we called to them not to come near, informing them of our unhappy condition: However they ventured, when one of the men taking the end of a tow-line in his hand, and keeping our boat between him and our adverſaries, ſwam on board us, and made faſt the line to our boat; upon this ſlipping our cables, they towed us out of the reach of their arrows, and quickly after a broadſide was given them from the ſhip, which made a moſt dreadful havoc among them. But when we had got on board, and examined into the occaſion of this fray, the men who fled informed us, that an old woman, who ſold milk within the poles, had brought a young woman with her, who carried roots or herbs; the ſight of whom ſo much tempted our men, that they offered rudeneſs to the maid, at which the old woman ſet up a great cry; nor would the ſailors part from their prize, but carried her among the trees, while the old woman went and brought a whole army down upon them. At the beginning of the attack one of our men was killed with a lance, and the fellow who began the miſchief, paid dear enough for his miſtreſs, though as yet we did not know what became of him, but the reſt got free. The third night after the action, being curious to underſtand how affairs ſtood, I took the ſupercargo, and twenty ſtout fellows with me, and landed about two hours before midnight, at the ſame place where thoſe *Indians* ſtood the night before; and there we divided our men into two bodies, the boatſwain commanding one, and I the other. It was ſo dark, that we could ſee nobody; neither did we hear any voice near us; but by and by the boatſwain falling over a dead body, we conſented to halt till the moon began to riſe, which we knew would be in an hour after; and then we perceived two and thirty bodies upon the ground, whereof two were not quite dead. Satisfied with this diſcovery, I was going on board again; but the boatſwain, and the reſt, told me they would make a viſit to the *Indian* town where thoſe dogs, ſo the called them, reſided, aſking me at the ſame time to go along with them: that they did not doubt, beſides getting a good booty, but they ſhould find *Tom Jeffery* there, for that was the unhappy man we miſſed. But I utterly refuſed to go, and commanded them back, as being unwilling to hazard their lives, the ſafety of the ſhip wholly depending upon them. Upon which, in ſhort, they all left me but one, and the ſupercargo: So we returned to the boat where a boy was left, telling them we would ſtay for thoſe that returned, though we ſuppoſed that moſt of them would run the ſame fate of *Tom Jeffery*. To this they replied, *Come boys, come along, we'll warrant we'll come off ſafe enough*; and

ſo away they went, notwithſtanding all my admonitions, either concerning their own ſafety, or the preſervation of the ſhip. Indeed they were gallantly armed, every man having a muſket, bayonet, and a piſtol, beſides cutlaſſes, hangers, poleaxes, and hand granades. They came to a few *Indian* houſes at firſt; but, not being the town they expected, they went farther, and finding a cow tied to a tree, they concluded that would be a ſufficient guide to them, and ſo it proved; for after they untied her, ſhe led them directly to the town, which conſiſted of above two hundred houſes, ſeveral families living in ſome of the huts together. Here, being all in a profound ſleep, the ſailors conſulted to divide themſelves into three bodies, and ſet three parts of the town on fire at once; to kill thoſe that were eſcaping, and plunder the reſt of the houſes. Thus deſperately reſolved, they went to work; but the firſt party had not gone far, before they called out to the reſt, that they had found *Tom Jeffery*; whereupon they all ran up to the place, and found the poor fellow indeed, hanging up naked by one arm, and his throat almoſt cut from ear to ear: In a houſe that was hard by the tree, they found 16 or 17 *Indians* who had been concerned in the fray, two or three of them being wounded, who were not gone to ſleep; this houſe they ſet on fire firſt, and quickly, five or ſix places more in the town appeared in flames, which they occaſioned by wild fire, as the fitteſt to burn their thatches, conſiſting of flags or ruſhes: and no ſooner did the affrighted creatures run out to ſave their lives, but they were either driven back into the flames by the ſailors, or killed without mercy. After the boatſwain had ſlain two with his pole-axe, he threw a hand-granade into the houſe, which, ſoon burſting, made a terrible havock, killing and wounding moſt of them; and neither their king, nor any of his train, who were in that houſe, eſcaped their fury, but they were every creature ſmothered and burnt together. All this while they never fired a gun, leſt the people ſhould waken faſter than they could overpower them. But they awaked faſt enough, which obliged our fellows to keep together in bodies. And by this time the whole town was in a flame, yet their fury rather increaſed, calling out to one another to remember *Tom Jeffery*. The terrible light of this conflagration made me very uneaſy, and rouſed my nephew the captain, and the reſt of his men, not knowing any thing of the matter. But when he perceived the dreadful ſmoke aſcending in the clouds, and heard the guns go off, which made him conclude his men in danger, he takes another boat, and comes on ſhore himſelf with 13 men well armed: Nor was he leſs ſurprized to ſee me and two men only in the boat; but though I argued with him, as I did with his men, about the danger of the voyage, the intereſt of the merchants and owners, and the ſafety of the ſhip;

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yet my nephew was like the reſt, declaring, that he would rather loſe the ſhip, his voyage, his life and all, than his men ſhould be loſt for want of help; and ſo away he went. For my part, ſeeing him reſolved to go, I had not power to ſtay behind him: He ordered the pinnace back again for twelve men more; and then we marched directly as the flame guided us. But ſurely never was ſuch a ſcene of horrour beheld, nor more diſmal cries heard before, except at the time of that vile traitor and uſurper *Oliver Cromwell*'s taking *Drogheda* in *Ireland*, where he neither ſpared man, woman or child.

The firſt object, I think, we met with, was the ruins of one of their habitations, before which lay four men and three women killed, and two burnt to death among the fire, which was now decaying. Nothing could appear more barbarous than this revenge; none more cruel than the authors of it. As we went on, the fire increaſed, and the cry proceeded in proportion: Nor had we gone much farther, but we beheld three naked women, followed by ſixteen or ſeventeen men, flying with the greateſt ſwiftneſs from our men, who ſhot one of them in our ſight: When they perceived us, whom they ſuppoſed would be their murderers, they ſet up a moſt dreadful ſhriek, and two ſwooned away in the fright. Here was ſuch a ſight, as might ſurely ſoften the hardeſt heart; and, in pity, we took means to let them know we would not hurt them; while the poor creatures, with bended knees and lift up hands, made piteous lamentations to us to ſave their lives. I ordered our men not to hurt any of the poor creatures whatſoever; but, being willing to underſtand the occaſion of all this, I went among theſe unhappy wretches, who neither underſtood me, nor I believe the meaning themſelves. Hereupon, being reſolved to go into the middle of the town through the fire, in order to put an end to this barbarity, I ordered the men to follow me; but I had ſcarce ſpoke the word, before the boatſwain came up, with four of our men at his heels, covered with blood and duſt, ſeeking more people to maſſacre; upon which, calling out to them, we made them underſtand who we were, and they came up to us, ſetting up a halloo of triumph, in token that more help was come. Noble captain, ſaid he to my nephew, I'm glad you'r come; we have not half done with theſe villanous hell hound dogs, we'll root out the very nation of them from the earth, and kill more than poor *Tom* has hairs upon his head: And thus he went on till I interrupted him. Blood thirſty dog! ſaid I, will your cruelty never end? I charge you touch not one creature more; ſtop your hands and ſtand ſtill, or you'r a dead man this moment. Why, Sir, ſaid he, you neither know who you are protecting, or what they have done; but pray come hither, and behold an object of compaſſion, if ſuch merit your clemency; and with that

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he ſhewed me the poor fellow, with his throat cut, hanging upon the tree.

Indeed here was enough to fill their breaſts with rage, which, however, I thought had gone too far, agreeable to theſe words of *Jacob* to his ſons, *Simeon* and *Levi*: *Curſed be their anger for it was fierce, and their wrath, for it was cruel.* But this ſight made my nephew and the reſt as bad as they; nay, my nephew declared, his concern was only for his men; as for the people, not a ſoul of them ought to live. Hereupon away ran the boatſwain and eight more to finiſh the tragedy; which being out of my power to prevent, I penſively returned back, both from the diſmal ſight, and the piteous cries of thoſe unfortunate creatures, who were made victims to their fury. Nor was it a leſs piece of folly in me to return to the boat with a few others, having narrowly eſcaped forty armed *Indians*, who had been alarmed by the conflagration; but, having miſſed the place where they ſtood, I got to the boat, accompanied with the ſupercargo, and ſo went on board, ſending the pinnace back again, to aſſiſt the men in what might happen. When I had got to the boat, the fire was almoſt extinguiſhed, and the noiſe abated; but I had ſcarce been half an hour on board the ſhip, when I heard another volley given by our ſailors, and a great ſmoke, which, as I afterwards found, was our men falling upon thoſe houſes and perſons that ſtood between them and the ſea; but here they ſpared the wives and children, and killed about ſixteen or ſeventeen men. And ſo they came ſtrolling down to the pinnace, which, at that time was gotten on ſhore to receive them. Not a man of them had received the leaſt hurt, except two, one of whom ſtrained his foot, and the other burnt his hand a little, having met with no reſiſtance, the poor *Indians* being unprepared, amazed and confounded.

Indeed I was extremely angry with every one of them, but particularly the Captain; who, inſtead of cooling the rage of the men, had prompted them on to farther miſchief: Nor could he make any other excuſe, but that, as he was a man, he could not maſter his paſſions, at the ſight of one of his men ſo cruelly murdered. As for the reſt, knowing they were not under my command, they took no notice of my anger, but rather boaſted of their revenge; and, according to all their accounts, they killed or deſtroyed about 150, men women and children, beſides burning the town to aſhes. They took their accompanion *Tom Jeffery* from the tree, covered him with ſome of the ruins, and ſo left him. But, however juſtifiable this tion of our men might ſeem to themſelves, yet I always openly condemned it, with the appellation of the maſſacre of *Madagaſcar*: For though they had ſlain this *Jeffery*, yet he was certain the firſt aggreſſor, by attempting to violate the chaſtity of

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a young innocent woman, who ventured down to them on the faith of the public capitulation, which was ſo treacherouſly broken.

We were now under ſail, when the boatſwain would defend this bloody action, by ſaying, That the *Indians* had broke the truce, the night before, by ſhooting one of our men without juſt provocation: And what if the poor fellow had taken a little liberty with the wench, he ought not to have been murdered in ſo villanous a manner; and that they had acted nothing but what the divine laws commiſſioned to be done to ſuch homicides. However, I was in the ſame mind as before, telling them that they were murderers, and bid him depend upon it, that God would blaſt their voyage for ſo unparalleled a piece of barbarity.

When we came into the gulph of *Perſia*, five of our men who ventured on ſhore, were either killed, or made ſlaves by the *Arabians*, the reſt of them having ſcarce time to eſcape to their boat. This made me upbraid them afreſh with the juſt retribution of heaven for ſuch actions: Upon which the boatſwain very warmly aſked me, whether thoſe men on whom the tower of *Siloam* fell, were greater ſinners than the reſt of the *Galileans?* And beſides, Sir, ſaid he, none of theſe five poor men that are loſt, were with us at the maſſacre of *Madagaſcar*, as you call it, and therefore your reprehenſion is very unjuſt, and your application improperly applied. Beſides, added he, you are continually uſing the men very ill upon this account, and being but a paſſenger yourſelf, we are not obliged to bear it; nor can we tell what ill deſigns you may have to bring us to judgment for it in *England*; and therefore if you don't leave this diſcourſe, and not concern yourſelf with any of our affairs, I will leave the ſhip, and not ſail in ſuch dangerous company.

All this I heard very patiently, till at length I told him what concern I had on board was none of his buſineſs; that, however, I was a conſiderable owner of the ſhip, and therefore had a right to ſpeak in common, and that I was no way accountable to him, nor to any body elſe. Well, this paſt on, and I thought all had been over. At this time we were in the road of *Bengal*; where, going on ſhore with the ſupercargo one day towards evening, as I was preparing to go on board, one of the men came to me, and told me, I need not trouble myſelf to come to the boat, for that the cockſwain and others had ordered him not to carry me on board any more. This inſolent meſſage much ſurpriſed me, yet I gave him no anſwer to it, but went directly, and acquainted the ſupercargo, entreating him to go on board, and, by acquainting the captain with it, to prevent the mutiny which I perceived would happen. But, before I had ſpoke this, the matter was effected on board: For,

no

no ſooner was I gone off in the boat, but the boatſwain, gunner, carpenter, and all the inferior officers, came to the quarter deck, deſiring to ſpeak with the captain; and there it was the boatſwain made a long harangue, exclaiming againſt me as before mentioned; that if I had not gone peaceably for my own diverſion, they would have compelled me by violence for their ſatisfaction; that, as they had ſhipped with the captain, ſo they would faithfully ſerve him; but, if I did not quit the ſhip, or the captain oblige me to it, they would leave the ſhip immediately: Hereupon, turning his face about by way of ſignal, they all cried out, One and All, one and All.

You may be ſure, that though my nephew was a man of great courage, yet he could not but be ſurpriſed at their ſudden and unexpected behaviour: And, though he talked ſtoutly to them, and afterwards expoſtulated with them that, in common juſtice to me, who was a conſiderable owner in the ſhip, they could not turn me out, as it were out of my own houſe, which might bring their lives in danger ſhould they ever be taken in *England*: Nay, though he invited the boatſwain on ſhore to accommodate matters with me, yet all this, I ſay, ſignified nothing: They would have nothing to do with me: And they were reſolved to go on ſhore if I came on board. Well, ſaid my nephew, if you are ſo reſolved, permit me to talk with him, and then I have done: And ſo he came to me, giving me an account of their reſolution, how one and all deſigned to forſake the ſhip if I came on board; for which he was mightily concerned. I am very glad to ſee you, nephew, ſaid I, and rejoice it is no worſe, ſince they have not rebelled againſt you: I only deſire you to ſend my neceſſary things on ſhore, with a ſufficient ſum of money, and I will find my way to *England* as well as I can. Though this grieved my nephew to the heart, yet there was no remedy but compliance, and, in ſhort, going on board, all my neceſſaries were ſent me, and ſo this matter was over in a few hours.

I think I was now near a thouſand leagues farther off *England* by ſea, than at my little kingdom, except this difference, that I might travel by land over the *Great Mogul's* country to *Surat*, from thence up to *Baſora* by ſea up the *Perſian* gulph, then take the way of the caravans over the *Arabian* deſert to *Aleppo* and *Scandaroon*, there take ſhipping to *Italy*, and ſo travel by land into *France*, and from thence croſs the ſea to *England*.

My nephew left me two perſons to attend me, one of them was his ſervant, and the other clerk to the purſer, who engaged to be mine. I took lodgings in an *Engliſh* woman's houſe, where ſeveral *French*, one *Engliſh*, and two *Italian* merchants reſided. The handſome entertainment I met with here, occaſioned me to ſtay nine months, conſidering what

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courſe I ſhould take. I had ſome *Engliſh* goods, with me, of great value, beſides a 1000 pieces of eight, and a letter of credit for more, if there were occaſion. The goods I ſoon diſpoſed of to advantage, and bought here ſeveral good diamonds, which I could eaſily carry about me. One morning the *Engliſh* merchant came to me, and, being very intimate together, countryman, ſaid he, I have a project to communicate to you, which I hope will ſuit to both our advantage: To be ſhort, Sir, we are both in a remote part of the world from our country; but yet in a place where men of buſineſs may get a great deal of money. Now if you will put a thouſand pounds to my thouſand pounds we will hire a ſhip to our ſatisfaction; you ſhall be captain, I'll be merchant, and we'll go a trading voyage to *China*; for why ſhould we lie ſtill like drones, when all the world is in continual motion?

This propoſal ſoon got my conſent, being very agreeable to my rambling genius; and the more ſo, becauſe I looked upon my countryman to be a very ſincere perſon: It required ſome time before we could get a veſſel to our minds, and ſailors to man it accordingly: At length, we got an *Engliſh* mate, boatſwain and gunner, a *Dutch* carpenter, and three *Portuguese* foremaſt men, and, for want of others, made ſhift with *Indian* ſeamen. From hence we firſt ſailed to *Achin*, in the iſland of *Sumatra*, and then to *Siam*, where we bartered our wares for ſome arraek and opium, the laſt of which bore a great price among the *Chineſe*: In a word, we went up to *Suſkam*, making a very great voyage; and after eight months time, I returned to *Bengal*, very well ſatisfied with this adventure, having not only gotten a ſufficient ſum of money, but an inſight of getting a great deal more.

The next voyage my friend propoſed to me, was to go among the ſpice iſlands, and bring home a load of cloves from the *Manillas*, or thereabouts; iſlands belonging partly to *Spain*, but yet places where the *Dutch* trade very much. We were not long preparing for this voyage, which we made no leſs ſucceſsful than the laſt, touching at *Borneo*, and ſeveral other places which I do not perfectly remember, returning home in about five months time. We ſoon ſold our ſpices, which were chiefly cloves, and ſome nutmegs, to a *Perſian* merchant, who carried them away for the gulf; and in ſhort, making five to one advantage, we were loaded with money.

Not long after my friend and I had made up our accounts, to our entire ſatisfaction, there came in a *Dutch* coaſter, from *Batavia*, of above two hundred ton. All the men pretended themſelves ſo ill, that there were not hands ſufficient to undertake a voyage, and the captain being, forſooth, willing to go to *Europe*, public notice was given that the ſhip was to be ſold. No ſooner did this come to our ears, but we bought the ſhip,

paid

paid the mafter, and took poffeffion. We would alfo very willingly have entertained fome of the men; but they, having received their fhare of the booty, were not to be found; being fled all together, to *Agra*, the city of the great *Mogul*'s refidence; and from thence were to travel to *Surat*, and fo by fea to the *Perfian* gulph. And indeed they had reafon to fly in this manner; for the truth of it was, the pretended captain, was the gunner only, and not the commander; that, having been a trading voyage, they were attacked on fhore by the *Mallayans*, who killed three men and the captain; after whofe death, the other eleven men, running away with the fhip to the bay of *Bengal*, left the mate and five men more on fhore, of whom you will hear in the fequel.

Let them come by the fhip how they will, we thought we bought it honeftly; neither did we fufpect any thing of the matter, when the man fhewed us a bill of fale for the fhip (undoubtedly forged) to one *Emanuel Clofterfhoven*, which name he went by. And fo, without any more to do, we picked up fome *Dutch* and *Englifh* feamen, refolving for another voyage for cloves among the *Philippine* and *Molucca* iflands; and, in fhort, we continued thus five or fix years, trading from port to port with extraordinary fuccefs; and was now, in the feventh and laft year, going in the fhip with my partner to *China*, defigning to touch at *Siam*, and buy fome rice by the way. But in this voyage, contrary winds beat us up and down for a confiderable time among the iflands in the ftraights of *Molucca*; and no fooner were we clear of thefe rugged feas, but we perceived our fhip had fprung a leak, which obliged us to put into the river *Cambodia*, which lies northward of the gulph, and goes up to *Siam*.

One day as I was on fhore refrefhing myfelf, there comes an *Englifhman* to me, who was a gunner's mate on board an *Englifh Eaft-India* fhip, riding up the river, near the city of *Cambodia*. Sir, faid he, you may wonder at my bufinefs, having never feen me in your life; but though I am a ftranger, I have fomething to tell you that very nearly concerns you; and indeed, it is the imminent danger you are in has moved me to give you this timely notice. Danger! faid I, what danger? I know of none, except my fhip being leaky, for which I defign to have her run aground to-morrow morning. Sir, faid he, I hope you'll be better employed, when you fhall hear what I have to fay to you. You know the town of *Cambodia* is about 15 leagues up this river; and about three leagues on this fide, there lie two *Dutch*, and three *Englifh* fhips; and would you venture here, without confidering what ftrength you had to engage them? I knew not what he meant by this difcourfe; and, turning fhort upon him, Sir, faid I, I know no reafon I have to be afraid either of any *Englifh* or *Dutch* fhips; I am no interloper,

interloper, and what buſineſs have they then with me? Well, Sir, ſaid the man, if you do think yourſelf ſecure, all I can ſay is, you muſt take your chance: However, I am very ſorry you are ſo deaf to good advice; but I aſſure you, if you don't put to ſea immediately, you will be attacked by five long-boats full of men, hanged yourſelf for a pirate, if you are taken, and the particulars examined afterwards. I thought, Sir, added he, I might have met with a better reception for ſuch a ſingular piece of ſervice. Sir, ſaid I, I never was ungrateful to any man; but pray explain yourſelf and I'll go on board this minute, whether the leak be ſtopped or no. Why, Sir, ſaid he, to be ſhort, becauſe time is precious, the matter is this: You know well enough that you were with the ſhip at *Sumatra*, where your captain was murdered by the *Malayans*, with three of his ſailors, and that either you, or ſome who were on board you, ran away with the ſhip, and are ſince turned pirates at ſea. Now, Sir, this is the ſum of what I had to ſay; and I can poſitively aſſure you, that if you be taken, you will be executed without much ceremony; for, undoubtedly, you cannot but be ſenſible what little law merchant ſhips ſhew to pirates, whenever they fall into their unmerciful hands. Sir, ſaid I, I thank you for your kind information, and though I am ſure no man could come more honeſtly by the ſhip than I have done; yet, ſatisfied with your honeſt intention, and knowing their deſigns, I'll be upon my defence. Prithee, Sir, ſaid the man, don't talk of being upon your defence; the beſt that you can make, is to be out of danger; and therefore, if you have any regard for your life, and the lives of your men, take the advantage, without fail, of putting out to ſea at high water; by which means, as you have a whole tide before you, you will be gone too far out of their reach before they can come down; and ſo, by the tide (not reckoning the length) you will get two hours of them; and as they are only boats, conſequently they will not venture (eſpecially if the wind blows) to follow you far out to ſea.

I am mighty well ſatisfied, ſaid I, in this particular, and of your kindneſs, which merits my greateſt eſteem: Pray, Sir, what amends ſhall I make you? He replied, I know not what amends you are willing to make, becauſe you may have ſome doubts of its certainty; but, to convince you of the truth of what I ſay, I have one offer to make unto you. On board one of the *Engliſh* ſhips, I have nineteen months pay due to me; and this *Dutchman* that is with me, has ſeven months pay due to him, which, if you will make good to us, we will go along with you. And ſhould you find nothing more in it, why then we will deſire no more; but when you are convinced that we have ſaved the ſhip, your life, and the lives of the men, we will leave the reſt to your generoſity.

So reaſonable did this every way appear, as to obtain my immediate conſent, and ſo we went on board immediately. As ſoon as we came on board, my partner calls joyfully out, that they had ſtopped the leak! Well, thank God, ſaid I, but pray let us weigh anchor immediately. Weigh! ſaid he, what is the meaning of this hurry! Pray, ſaid I, aſk no queſtions, but all hands to work without loſing a moment's time: Upon which, the captain was called in great haſte, who ordered the anchor to be got up immediately; and, though the tide was not quite down, yet being aſſiſted with a little land breeze, we ſtood out to ſea: And then it was, that calling my partner into the cabin, I related the ſtory at large, which was confirmed, and more amplified by the two men I had brought on board. But ſcarce had we finiſhed our diſcourſe upon this head, but a ſailor came to the cabin door, with a meſſage from the captain, that we were chaſed by five ſloops full of armed men. Very well, ſaid I, it is plain now there is ſomething in it. And ſo, going upon deck, I told the men there was a deſign for ſeizing the ſhip, and conſequently executing us for pirates; and aſked them, whether they would faithfully ſtand by us, and one another? To which they unanimouſly replied, that they would fight for us to the laſt drop of their blood. And when I aſked the captain which way he thought beſt for us to manage the battle; Sir, ſaid he, the only method is to keep them off with our great ſhot as long we are able, and then have recourſe to our ſmall arms; and when both theſe fail us, then to retire to cloſe quarters, when perhaps the enemy, wanting materials, can neither break open our bulk-heads, or get in upon us. In the mean time, the gunner was ordered to bring two guns to bear fore and aft out of the ſteerage, and to load them with muſket bullets and ſmall pieces of old iron; and thus, the deck being cleared, we were prepared for the engagement, ſtill keeping out to ſea. But yet the boats followed us with all the ſail they could make; and we could perceive the two foremoſt were *Engliſh*, which outſailed the reſt by two leagues, and which we found would come up with us: Hereupon we fired a gun without ball, intimating that they ſhould bring too, and we put out a flag of truce, as a ſignal for parley? but, finding them crowding after us, till they came within a ſhot, we took in our white, and hanging out the red flag, immediately fired at them with ball; and then we called to them with a ſpeaking trumpet, bidding them to keep off at their peril.

But all this ſignified nothing to them, who, depending upon the ſtrength that followed them, were reſolutely bent for miſchief: Hereupon I ordered them to bring the ſhip too, by which means, they lying upon our broadſide, we let fly at them at once, one of whom carried away the ſtern of the hindermoſt boat, and obliged them not only to take down

their

their ſail, but made them all run to the head of the boat to keep her from ſinking: and ſo ſhe lay by, having enough of it; and, in the mean time, we prepared to meet the foremoſt boat in the ſame manner. But, while we were doing this, one of the three hindermoſt boats made up to the relief of that which was diſabled, and took the men out of her. Hereupon we called again to parley with them, but, inſtead of an anſwer, one of the boats came cloſe under our ſtern; whereupon our gunner let fly his two chaſe guns, but miſſing, the men in the boat ſhouted, and waving their caps, came on with fury; but, to repair his ſeeming diſgrace, ſoon got ready; and, firing the ſecond time, this ſhot, we could perceive, did a great deal of execution among the men; but, taking no notice of it, we wore ſhip again, bringing one quarter to bear upon them; when, firing three guns more, we found the boat a ſinking, and ſeveral men already in the ſea. Hereupon, immediately manning our pinnace, I gave orders to ſave ſome of the men from drowning, and inſtantly come on board, becauſe the reſt of their boats were approaching. They accordingly did ſo, and took up three of them, one of whom was almoſt paſt recovery; and then, crowding all the ſail we could, after our men came on board, we ſtood out farther to ſea, ſo that the other three boats gave over their chaſe, when they came up to the firſt two. And thus, delivered from imminent danger, we changed our courſe to the eaſtward, quite out of the courſe of all *European* ſhips.

Being now at ſea, and enquiring more particularly of the two ſeamen the meaning of all this; the *Dutchman* led us into the ſecret of it at once. He told us, That the fellow who ſold us the ſhip was an errant thief, who had run away with her; that the captain was treacherouſly murdered on the coaſt of *Malacca*, by the natives there, with three of his men; that he, the *Dutchman*, and four more, being obliged to have recourſe to the woods for their ſafety, at length eſcaped by means of a *Dutch* ſhip in the way to *China*, which had ſent their boat on ſhore for freſh water: That, after this, he went to *Batavia*, where two of the ſeamen belonging to the ſhip (who had deſerted the reſt in their travels) arrived, and there gave an account, that the fellow, who ran away with the ſhip, had ſold her at *Bengal* to a ſet of pirates, who went a cruiſing, and had already taken an *Engliſh* and two *Dutch* ſhips richly laden.

Now, though this was abſolutely falſe, yet, concerning us directly, my partner truly ſaid, that our deliverance was to be eſteemed ſo much the more, by reaſon had we fallen into their hands, we could have expected nothing from them but immediate death, conſidering our accuſers would have been our judges: And therefore his opinion was, to return directly to *Bengal*, where, being known, we could prove how honeſtly we

came

came by the ſhip, of whom we bought her, and the like; and where we were ſure of ſome juſtice, not to be hanged firſt, and judged afterwards. And indeed I was at firſt of my partner's opinion; but when I had more ſeriouſly conſidered of the matter, I told him, we ran a great hazard in attempting to return thither, being on the wrong ſide of the ſtraits of *Malacca*; and if, upon alarm given, we ſhould be taken by the *Dutch* of *Batavia*, or *Engliſh* elſewhere, our running away would be a ſufficient evidence to condemn ourſelves. This danger indeed ſtartled not only my partner, but all the ſhip's company; and ſo we changed our former reſolution to go to the coaſt of *Tonquin*, and ſo to that of *China*; where purſuing our firſt deſign as to trade, we might diſpoſe of the ſhip ſome way or other, and return in one of the country veſſels. This being generally agreed to, we ſteered away N. N. E. above 50 leagues off the uſual courſe to the eaſt, which put us to ſome inconveniences, as the winds blowing more ſteadily againſt us, made us more tedious in our voyage, and conſequently cauſed a more ſpeedy decay of our proviſion; and, what was ſtill worſe, we apprehended thoſe ſhips, from whoſe boats we had eſcaped, being bound for, and got to *China* before us, might have given freſh information, which might create another vigorous purſuit. And laſtly, when I conſidered I had never wronged or defrauded any perſon in my life, to be now purſued like a common thief, and, if taken, to be executed as ſuch, according to what they ſhould allege; this thing grieved me to the higheſt degree (as it muſt all innocent men) and conſequently made me more deſirous of eſcaping from its infamous ſhame, than from death itſelf. It was very eaſy to read a ſad dejection in my countenance upon this occaſion: My mind was oppreſt like thoſe unhappy innocent perſons, who, being overpowered by blaſphemous and perjured evidences, wickedly reſolved to take away their lives, or ruin their reputation, have no other recourſe, in this world, to eaſe their unſpeakable ſorrow, but ſighs, and prayers, and tears. My partner ſeeing me ſo concerned, encouraged me as well as he could; and, after deſcribing to me the ſeveral ports of that coaſt, told me he would either put in on the coaſt of *Cochinchina*, or elſe in the bay of *Tonquin*, and from thence go to *Macao*, a town once poſſeſſed by the *Portugueſe*, and where there ſtill reſided many *European* families.

Well, to this place we ſteered our courſe, and early the next morning we came in ſight of the coaſt. But, conſidering on paſt circumſtances, we reſolved to put into a ſmall river, whereby we could know, either over the land, or by the ſhip's pinnace, what veſſels were in any ports thereabouts? And indeed this happy ſtep was our certain deliverance; the next morning there came to the bay of *Tonquin* two *Dutch* ſhips, and

a third

a third without any colours ſpread; and, in the evening, two *Engliſh* ſhips ſteered the ſame courſe. The river where we were, was but ſmall, within a few leagues of its limits northward: The country was wild and barbarous, and the people all thieves, having no correſpondence with any other nation, dealing only in fiſh, oil, and ſuch groſs commodities. One barbarous cuſtom they have, that when any veſſel is unhappily ſhipwrecked upon their coaſt, they make the men their priſoners or ſlaves; ſo that when we coaſted northeaſt, to the point of land which opens to the great bay of *Tonquin*, we found ourſelves ſurrounded by enemies both by ſea and land.

As the ſhip had been leaky before, we took the opportunity to cleanſe her in this place, and to ſtop up the places which let in the water. And when we had lightened her, and brought our guns, and other moveable things, to one ſide, we eſſayed to bring her down, that we might come at her bottom: But, upon ſecond conſideration, we cared not to let her lie on dry ground; neither indeed could we find a convenient place for it. The inhabitants, not uſed to ſuch a ſight, as to ſee a ſhip lie down on one ſide, and heel in towards ſhore, neither perceiving her men who were at work on her bottom, with ſtages and with boats on the off ſide, they preſently imagined the ſhip had been caſt away, and ſo lay on the ground. Agreeable to this ſuppoſition, they ſurrounded us with ten or twelve large boats, with a reſolution, undoubtedly, to plunder the ſhip, and to carry away thoſe they found alive, for ſlaves to their king. But when they perceived our men hard at work upon the ſhip's bottom and ſide, waſhing, graving, and ſtopping it, it filled them with ſuch ſurprize, that they ſtood gazing as though they were confounded. Neither could we imagine what their deſign was; however, for fear of danger, we handed down arms and ammunition to thoſe at work, in order to defend themſelves; and indeed this precaution was abſolutely neceſſary; for, in a quarter of an hour after, the natives concluding it was really a ſhipwreck, and that we were ſaving our lives and goods, which they thought belonged to them, came down to our men, as though it had been in a line of battle. Indeed we lay but in a very unfit poſture to fight; and, before the ſtages could be got down, or the men in the boat come on board as they were ordered, the *Cochineſes* were upon them, and two of their boats boarding our long boat, they began to lay hold of our men as priſoners. The firſt they ſeized was a ſtout *Engliſh* ſailor, who never fired his muſket, like a fool, as I imagined, but laid it down in the boat; but he knew what he was doing, for, by main force, he dragged the Pagan out of the boat into ours by the two ears, and knocked his brains out againſt the boat's gunnel: A *Dutchman* that was next him, ſnatches up the muſket, and knocked down five more

with the but end of it: However, this was doing very little to their number; but a ſtrange, unexpected accident, which rather merits laughter, than any thing elſe, gave our men a complete victory over them.

It ſeems the carpenter, who was preparing to grave the outſide of the ſhip, as well as to pay the ſeams where he caulked her, to ſtop the leaks, had gotten two kettles juſt let down in the boat, one filled with boiling pitch, and the other with roſin, tallow and oil, and ſuch ſtuff as the ſhipwrights uſe: The carpenter's man had a great iron ladle, with which he uſed to ſupply the workmen with hot ſtuff; and, as two of the enemies entered the boat where the fellow ſtood, he ſaluted them with a ladleful of the hot boiling liquor, that, being half naked, made them roar again, and jump into the ſea. Well done *Jack*, ſays the carpenter, give them t'other doſe; and ſo, leaping forward himſelf, takes a mop, and dipping it into the pitch-pot, he and his man flung it ſo plentifully among them, as none eſcaped being ſcalded: Upon which they all made the beſt of their way, crying and howling in ſuch a frightful manner, that in all my adventures I never heard the like before. And, indeed, never was I better pleaſed with any conqueſt than I was with this, by reaſon there was ſo little blood ſhed, having an averſion to killing ſuch ſavage wretches (more than was neceſſary) knowing they came on errands which their laws and cuſtoms made them think were juſt and equitable. By this time, all things being in order, and the ſhip ſwimming, they found their miſtake, ſo they durſt not venture a ſecond attack. Thus ended our merry fight; and having got ſome rice, bread, roots, and ſixteen good hogs on board the day before, we ſet ſail, not daring to go into the bay of *Tonquin*, but ſteered N. E. towards the iſle of *Formoſa*, as though we would go to the *Manillas*, or the *Philippine* iſlands, for fear of meeting with any *European* ſhips. When we anchored at the iſle of *Formoſa*, the inhabitants not only ſupplied us with proviſions and freſh water, but dealt very fairly and honeſtly with us in their bargains and agreements. From this place we ſteered north, keeping ſtill off the coaſt of *China*, till we were beyond all the ports where *European* veſſels uſually come; and at length, being come to the latitude of thirty degrees, we reſolved to put into the firſt trading port we ſhould come at; and ſtanding for the ſhore, a boat came off two leagues to us, with an old *Portugueſe* pilot on board, who offering his ſervice, we very gladly accepted him, and ſent the boat back again. And now, having the old man on board, I talked to him of going to *Nanquin*, the moſt northward part of the coaſt of *China*. What will you do there? ſaid he, ſmiling; I told him we would ſell our cargo, and purchaſe callicoes, raw and wrought ſilk, tea, &c. and ſo return the ſame way back. O, ſaid he,

you

you had better put in at *Macao*, where you may buy china wares as cheap as at *Nanquin*, and sell your opium at a greater advance. But, said I, we are gentlemen as well as merchants, and design to see the great city of *Pekin*, and the magnificent court of the monarch of *China*. Why then, said he, you should go to *Ningpo*, where there is a navigable river that goes through the heart of that vast empire, two hundred and seventy leagues from the sea, which crosses all the rivers, passes considerable hills by the help of sluices and gates, and goes even up to the city of *Pekin*, and you may go to *Nanquin*, if you please, and travel to *Pekin*; there is a *Dutch* ship just before bound that way. At the name of a *Dutch* or *English* ship I was struck with confusion, they being as great a terror to me in this vessel, as an *Algerine* man of war is to them in the *Mediterranean*. The old man finding me troubled, Sir, said he, I hope the *Dutch* are not now at war with your nation: No, said I, but God knows what liberty they may take when out of the reach of the law. Why, says he, what occasion is there for peaceable merchants to fear? For, believe me, they never meddle with any but PIRATES.

At the mentioning the word *Pirates*, my countenance turned to scarlet, nor was it possible for me to conceal it from the old pilot, who taking notice of it, *Sir*, said he, *take what course you please, I'll do you all the service I can.* Signior, said I, I am a little concerned at your mentioning *Pirates*, I hope there are none in these seas, because you see in what a weak condition we are to defend ourselves. *O Sir*, said he, *if that's all, don't be concerned; I don't remember, one in these parts these fifteen years, except about a month ago, one was seen in the bay of* Siam; *but she is gone to the south; nor was she built for a privateer but was run away with, by a pirate captain, and some of his men, the right captain having been murdered by the* Mallayans.

What, said I, (as though ignorant of what had happened) did they kill the captain? No, said he, 'tis thought the *Malayans*, murdered him, but perhaps they might procure them them to do it, and therefore deserved hanging. They were lately discovered in the bay of *Siam*, in the river of *Cambodia*, by some *Dutchmen* who belonged to the ship, and had much ado to escape five boats that pursued them: But they have all given such an exact description of the ship, that wherever they find her, they will be sure to know her; and they have solemnly sworn to give them no quarter, but to hang them every one at the yard arm, without formally bringing them to a court of justice.

Being sensible that, having the old man on board, he could not do me any mischief. Well, Signior, said I, 'tis for this very reason I would have you carry us up to *Nanquin*, where neither *English* or *Dutch* ships come: And I must tell you their captains

tains are a parcel of rash, proud, insolent rascals, that neither know what belongs to justice, nor how to behave themselves as the laws of God and nature direct: Fellows that would prove murderers to punish robbers; and take upon them to adjudge innocent men to death, without any plain proof to confirm their guilt; but perhaps I may live to call them to account in a place where they may learn how justice should be executed. And so I told him the story of buying the ship: and how we were saved by the means of two men: That the murder of the captain by the *Malayans*, as also the running away with the ship, I believe to be true; but that we who bought it were turned pirates, was a mere fiction, to cover their cowardice and foolish behaviour when they attacked us; and the blood of those men we killed in our own just defence lay at their door who sent them to attack us by surprize.

Sir, said the old man amazed, *you have taken the right course to steer to the north; and, if I might advise you, I would have you sell your ship in* China, *and buy another in that country; and I'll procure people to buy one and sell the other.* Well, but Signior, said I, if I sell the ship in this manner, I may bring some innocent persons into the same danger as I have gone through, perhaps worse, even death itself, whereby I should be as guilty of their murder as their villanous persecutors. *That need not trouble you*, said the old man, *I'll find a way to prevent that: For those commanders you talk of, I know very well, and I will inform them rightly of the matter, as you have related; and I am persuaded they will not only believe me, but act more cautiously for the future.* And will you deliver one message from me to them? *Yes*, said he, *if you will give it under your hand, that I may prove it is not my own invention.* Hereupon I wrote a large account of their attacking me in their long boats, the pretended reason and unjust design of it; that they had done what they ought to be ashamed of, and could not answer, at any tribunal in *England*. But this letter was written in vain, providence ordering things another way. We sailed directly for *Nanquin*, and in about 13 days sail came to an anchor at the south west point of the great gulf of that place, where we learned, that two *Dutch* ships were gone the length before us, and that we should certainly fall into their hands. We were at a great loss in this exigency, and would very gladly have been on shore almost any where: But our old pilot told me, that if I would sail to the southward about 42 leagues, there was a little port called *Quinchang*, where no *European* ships ever came, and where we might consider what was further to be done. Accordingly we weighed anchor the next day, calling only twice on shore by the way to get fresh water. The country people very courteously sold us roots, tea, rice, fowls, and other provision. After five days sail, we came to the port, and landed

with

with unſpeakable joy. We reſolved to diſpoſe of ourſelves and effects any way poſſible, rather than go on board that ill fated veſſel again. For no ſtate can be more miſerable than a continual fear, which is a life of death, and a confounder of our underſtandings, that ſets the imagination at work to form a thouſand frightful things that may never happen. And indeed both my partner and I ſcarce ſlept a night without dreaming of halters, yard-arms, &c. of fighting and being taken, killing and being killed, nay, ſo violent were our apprehenſions, that we would bruiſe our hands and heads againſt the cabin, as though actually engaged. The ſtory of the *Dutch* cruelty at *Amboyna* often came into our waking thoughts; and, for my part I uſed to think my condition very bad, that after ſo many difficulties, and ſignal deliverances, I ſhould be hanged in my old age, and innocent too; but then religion would ſeem to reprehend me, as though the voice of it had ſaid, Conſider, O man! the ſins you have been formerly guilty, which now thou art called to account for, to expiate with thy blood! And as to thy innocence, what art thou more than thy bleſſed Redeemer, who ſuffered for thy offences, and to whoſe providence you ought to ſubmit, let what will happen! After this my natural courage would inſpire me to reſiſt to the laſt, and rather to die than be taken by booriſh raſcally *Dutchmen*, who had arts to torment beyond the cruelty of death.

But now, thanks to kind Heaven, being aſhore, our old pilot procured a lodging and a warehouſe: It was a little hut, with a large warehouſe adjoining, all built with canes, and palliſadoed round with large ones, to keep out the pilfering thieves, which are very numerous in that country: But the magiſtrates allowed us a little guard, beſides we employed a ſentry with a kind of halbert, for three pence a day. The fair or mart had been over ſome time; however there remained in the river four junks and two *Japan* ſhips, the merchants of the latter being aſhore. In the firſt place, our old pilot brought us acquanted with three *Romiſh* miſſionaries, who were converting the *Chineſe* to Chriſtianity; two of them were reſerved, rigid and auſtere, applying themſelves to the work they came about with great earneſtneſs; but the third, a *Frenchman*, called Father *Simon*, was of a freer converſation, yet not a worſe Chriſtian than the other two, one of whom was a *Portugueſe*, and the other a *Genoeſe*: But Father *Simon*, it ſeems, was appointed to go to *Pekin*, the reſidence of the Emperor of *China*, and only waited for another prieſt, who was ordered from *Macoa* to accompany him. We ſcarce met, but he was prompting me to go with him: Sir, ſaid he, I will ſhew you the glorious things of this mighty empire, and a city, the city of *Pekin*, far exceeding *London* or *Paris*, put them both together. One day particularly, being at dinner with him, I ſhewed ſome in-

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clination to go, which made him preſs me the more, and my partner alſo, to gain our conſent: But father, ſaid my partner, what ſatisfaction can you have in our company, when you eſteem us heretics, conſequently objects not worth your regard? Oh, ſaid he, you may be as good Catholics in time, as thoſe I hope to convert. And ſo, ſaid he, we ſhall have you preaching to us all the way, inſtead of pleaſing us with deſcription of the country. Sir, ſaid he, however our religion may be vilified, 'tis very certain it neither diveſts us of good manners or Chriſtian charity; and as we are gentlemen, as ſuch we may converſe, without making one another uneaſy.

But, to leave him awhile, let us conſider our ſhip and merchandize, that we had to diſpoſe of. There was but little buſineſs in the place where we were; and once I was reſolved to ſail to the river *Kilam*, and ſo to the city of *Nanquin*; but Providence ordered it otherwiſe, by our old pilot's bringing a Jew merchant to us, to ſee what goods we had. He immediately bought our opium, for which he gave us a very good price in gold by weight, ſome wedges of which weighed above 10 or 11 ounces. It came into my head, that he might buy the ſhip too; and I ordered his interpreter to propoſe it to him. He ſaid nothing then, but ſhrunk up his ſhoulders; yet in a few days after he came, accompanied by a miſſionary prieſt, who was his interpreter, with this propoſal, that as he had bought a great quantity of our goods, he had not money enough to purchaſe our ſhip; but, if I pleaſed, he would hire her, with all my men, to go to *Japan*, and ſend them with another loading to the *Philippine* iſlands, the freight of which he would willingly pay to us before; and at their return to *Japan*, would buy the ſhip. Upon this we aſked the captain and his men, if they were willing to go to *Japan*; to which they unanimouſly agreed. While this was in agitation, the young man whom my nephew left to attend me, told me, that as I did not care to accept this proſpect of advantage, he would manage it for me as I pleaſed, and render me a faithful account of his ſucceſs, which ſhould be wholly mine. Indeed I was very unwilling to part with him; but as it might turn to his advantage, I diſcourſed my partner about it, who, of his own accord, gave him his ſhare of the veſſel, ſo that I could not do otherwiſe than give him mine; but, however, we let him have but the property of half of it, and preſerved a power, that when we met in *England*, if he had obtained ſucceſs, he ſhould account to us for one half of the profits of the ſhip's freight, and the other ſhould be his own. Thus having taken a writing under his hand, away he ſailed to *Japan*, where the merchant dealt honeſtly by him, got him a licence to go on ſhore, ſent him loaded to the *Philippines* with their ſupercargo, came back again with *European* goods, cloves, and other ſpices; and,

and, in ſhort, he got a great deal of money; nor would he ſell his ſhip, but traded on his own account, went back to the *Manillas*, where getting acquaintance he made his ſhip free, was then hired by the governour to go to *Acapulco* in *America*, on the *Mexican* coaſt, with a licence to travel to that great city; and this gained him immenſe treaſure, and finding means to get to *Jamaica*, he returned nine years after exceedingly rich to *England*.

In parting with the ſhip it comes in courſe to conſider of thoſe men who ſaved our lives in the river of *Cambodia*: and though, by the way, they were a couple of rogues, who thought to turn pirates themſelves: yet we paid them what they at firſt demanded, and gave each a ſmall ſum of money, making the *Engliſhman* a gunner, and the *Dutchman* a boatſwain, with which they were very well contented.

We were now above 1000 leagues farther from home, than when at *Bengal*. All the comfort we could expect was, that there being another fair in a month's time, we might not only purchaſe all ſorts of the country manufactures, but very poſſibly find ſome *Chineſe* junks or veſſels from *Tonquin*, to be ſold, which would carry us and our goods wherever we pleaſed. Upon theſe hopes, we reſolved to continue; and to divert ourſelves, took ſeveral little journies into the country. Ten days we travelled to ſee the city of *Nanquin*, about lat. 30. N. which is regularly built, the ſtreets exactly ſtrait, croſſing each other in direct lines, which makes it ſhew to great advantage. At our return, we found the prieſt was come from *Macao* that was to go with Father *Simon* to *Pekin*. That Father earneſtly ſolicited me to accompany him, and I referred him to my partner. In ſhort we both agreed to it, and prepared accordingly. Nor did we fail meeting with great advantage, as to finding the way, having the liberty to travel among the retinue of a Mandarin, who is a principal magiſtrate, and much reverenced by the people.

We were 25 days travelling through this miſerable country, infinitely populous, but as indifferently cultivated; but their pride is infinitely greater than their poverty, inſomuch that even their prieſts deride them. As we paſſed the houſe of one of their country gentlemen, two leagues off *Nanquin*, we had the honour to ride with the *Chineſe* 'ſquire about two miles. Never was Don *Quixote* ſo exactly imitated, never ſuch a compound of pomp and poverty ſeen before.

His habit, made of callico, was dirty, greaſy, and very proper for a *Merry Andrew*, with all its tawdry trappings, as hanging ſleeves, taſſels, &c. but torn in every part: His veſt underneath it was no cleaner, but more greaſy. His horſe (worſe than *Roſinante* or the famous ſteed of the doughty *Hudibraſs*) was a poor, ſtarved, decrepid thing, that would not

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ſell for thirty ſhillings in *England* : And yet after this piece of beggarly pomp attended ten or twelve ſlaves, guarding him to his country ſeat. We ſtopt at a little village for refreſhment; and when we came by the country ſeat of this great man, we found him ſitting under a tree before his door, eating a meſs of boiled rice, with a great piece of garlick in it, and a bag filled with green pepper by him, and another plant like ginger, with a bit of lean mutton, all this put together was his worſhip's repaſt : But pray obſerve the ſloth and ſtate of the fool! Two women ſlaves brought his food; which being laid before him, two others appeared to perform their reſpective offices; one fed him with a ſpoon, while the other ſcraped off what fell upon his beard and veſt, and gave it to a particular favourite to eat. And thus we left the wretch, pleaſed with the conceit of our admiring his magnificence, which rather raiſed our ſcorn and deteſtation.

At laſt we arrived at the great city of *Pekin*, accompanied by two ſervants, and the old *Portugueſe* pilot, whoſe charges we bore, and who was our interpreter. We had ſcarce been a week at *Pekin*, but he comes laughing to us, Ah, Signior *Inglife*, ſaid he, me ſometing tell you make your heart glad, but make me ſorry, for you bring me here, 25 days journey, and now you leave me, go back alone; and which ſhall I make my port after, widout the ſhip, widout de horſe, widout pecune, ſo he called money in his broken language. But, in ſhort, that there was a great caravan of *Muſcovite* and *Poliſh* merchants in the city, who were preparing to ſet out for *Muſcovy* by land within ſix weeks; and that he was certain we would take this opportunity, and conſequently that he muſt go home by himſelf. Indeed this news pleaſed us much: Are you certain of this, ſaid I? Yes, Sir, ſaid he, me ſure true. Then he told me, that having met an old acquaintance, an *Armenian*, who was among them, and came laſt from *Aſtracan*, with a deſign to go to *Tonquin*, where he formerly knew him; but having altered his reſolution, was reſolved to go with the caravan to *Moſcow*, and ſo down the river *Wolga* to *Aſtracan*. Well, Signior, ſaid I, don't be diſcontented about your return ng alone; for, if by this means I can find a paſſage to *England*, it will be your own fault if you return to *Macao* at all. And ſo, conſulting with my partner what was beſt to be done, he referred it to me as I pleaſed, our affairs being ſo well ſettled at *Bengal*, that if we could vend the *China* ſilks we had purchaſed, he would conſent to go to *England*, and ſo return to *Bengal* in one of the Company's ſhips. And thus we reſolved, that if our pilot would go with us, we would bear his charges to *Moſcow* or *England*, and give him £170 ſterling. Hereupon we called him, and told him the cauſe of his complaint ſhould be removed, if he would accompany us with the caravan, and

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therefore desired to know his mind. At this he shook his head, *great long journey*, said he, *me no pecune, carry me* Moscow, *keep me dere*. But we soon dispelled his concern, by telling him what we would give him here to lay out to the best advantage; and, as for his charges, we would pay them to *Moscow* or to *England*, which he pleased, except the carriage of his goods. At this proposal he was quite transported, saying he would go with us all the world over. We then prepared for our journey: But, I think it was near four months before all the merchants were ready.

In the mean time, my partner and the pilot went express to the port where we first put in, to sell what goods were left there, while I accompanied a *Chinese* merchant to *Nanquin*, and there bought 29 pieces of damask, with about 300 more of other fine silks; and by the time my partner returned to *Pekin*, I had them all carried thither; so that our cargo amounted in goods only to about £4500 sterling, which, together with tea, fine calicoes, nutmegs and cloves, loaded 18 camels for our share, besides what we rode upon, with two or three spare horses, and two more loaded with provision. And indeed the company in general was very great, making about 400 horse, and above 120 men, well armed and provided. We were of several nations, among the rest were five *Scotch* merchants living at *Moscow*, well experienced in business.

We left *Pekin* the beginning of *February*, O. S. and in two days we passed through the gate of the great *China* wall, which was built as a fortification against the *Tartars* 1800 years ago, being 1500 miles long. We then entered a country not near so populous, chiefly under the power of plundering *Tartars*, several companies of whom we perceived, on poor starved horses, contemptible as themselves, without order or discipline. One time our leader, for the day, permitted us to hunt. But what do you think we hunted? only a parcel of sheep, which indeed exceeded any in the world for wildness and swiftness; but while we were pursuing this game, we met above forty *Tartars*, who no sooner perceived us, but one of them blew a horn, at which there immediately appeared above forty or fifty more, at about a mile distant. Hereupon one of the *Scotch* merchants (who knew their cursed ways) ordered us to advance towards them, and attack them immediately. As we advanced, they let fly a volley of arrows, which happily fell a little short of us: This made us halt a little, to return the compliment with bullets. And then it was, led up by the bold *Scot*, that we fired our pistols in their faces, and drew our swords; but there was no occasion, for they flew like timorous sheep, and only three of them remained, beckoning the rest to come up to them. But our brave leader galloped up to them,

ſhot one dead, knocked another off his horſe, while the third ran away: And thus ended our battle with the *Tartars*.

We ſtill travelled a month more through the Emperor of *China*'s dominions; and at length coming to one of their towns (about a day and a half's journey from the city of *Naum*) I wanted to buy a camel: And the perſon I ſpoke to would have brought me one, but like a fool I muſt go along with him, which was about two miles from the village. My old pilot and I walked on foot, forſooth, for ſome variety; when coming to the place, where the camels were kept as in a park (guarded by *Chineſe* ſoldiers) we there agreed and bought one, which the *Chineſe* man that came with me led along the road. But we had not gone far before we were attacked by five *Tartars*, mounted on horſeback; two of whom ſeized the man, took the camel from him, and rode away; but the other three approached us, the firſt of which ſuddenly ſeizing me as I was drawing my ſword, the ſecond knocked me down, and ſtunned me; but my old truſty *Portugueſe*, taking a piſtol out of his pocket, which I knew nothing of, and coming up to the fellow that ſtruck me, laid hold of him with one hand, pulling him off his horſe, and then ſhot him dead upon the ſpot: Then taking his ſcymetar, he ſtruck at the man that ſtopt us, but miſſing him, cut off one of his horſe's ears, the pain of which made him throw his rider to the ground, with himſelf upon him. The poor *Chineſe*, who had led the camel, ſeeing the *Tartar* down, runs to him, and ſeizing upon his poleaxe, wrenched it from his hands, and knocked out his brains. But there was another *Tartar* to deal with, who ſeeming neither to fight nor fly, my old man began to charge his piſtol; the very ſight of which ſtruck ſuch a terror in the wretch, that he ſcowered away, leaving my old pilot, rather my champion and defender, an abſolute victory.

It was by this time, being awakened from my ſleep, as I thought, I began to open my eyes, wondering where I was, quite forgetting all that was paſt: But when my ſenſes returned, feeling a great pain in my head, while the blood was running over my clothes, I inſtantly jumped upon my feet, graſping my ſword in my hand, with a reſolution to take revenge; yet no enemies appeared, except the dead *Tartar*, with his horſe ſtanding by him; but the old man ſeeing me recovered, whom he thought ſlain, ran towards me, and embraced me with the greateſt tenderneſs, at the ſame time examining into my wound; but being far from every body, we returned to the village, when the man demanded payment for his camel, which I refuſing, we brought the cauſe before a *Chineſe* judge, who acted with great impartiality. Having heard both ſides, he aſked the *Chineſe* man that went with me, whoſe ſervant he was? Sir, ſaid he, I am nobody's, but went with the ſtranger,

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at his requeſt: Why then, ſaid the judge, you were the ſtranger's ſervant for the time, and the camel being delivered to his ſervant is the ſame as being delivered to himſelf, and accordingly he muſt pay for it. Indeed the caſe was ſo fairly ſtated, that I had nothing to object to it, ſo, having paid for what I was robbed of, I ſent for another, but did not go myſelf to fetch it, for I had enough of that ſport before.

The city of *Naum* is a frontier of the *Chineſe* empire, ſo fortified, as ſome tell you, that millions of *Tartars* cannot battle down the walls; by which certainly one might think one of our cannons would do more execution than all their legions.

But the Governour of that city, as we were within a day's march of it, having ſent meſſengers to every part of the road to inform the travellers and caravans to halt till he had ſent a guard to protect them from the numerous bodies of *Tartars* that lately appeared about this city; this news put us into great conſternation, but, obeying the orders, within two days there came 200 ſoldiers from a *Chineſe* garriſon, and 300 more from *Naum*: Thus, being guarded both in the front and rear, with our own men on the ſides, we advanced boldly, thinking we were able to combat 10,000 *Mogul Tartars*, if they had appeared, but were forced to tell another ſtory next day.

For early next morning, marching from a little well ſituated town called *Changu*, after having paſſed a river, and entered upon a deſert of above fifteen or ſixteen miles over, we ſoon beheld, by a cloud of duſt that was raiſed, that the enemy was approaching towards us. This ſight much diſpirited the *Chineſe*, which appeared ſo plainly, that my old pilot took notice of it, and called out, Signior *Ingleſe*, theſe fellows muſt be encouraged, or they will ruin us all; and I'm afraid, if the *Tartars* attack us, they will all run away. Why, Signior, ſaid I, what ſhall be done in this caſe? Done, ſays he, why let fifty of our men advance, and then flanking on each wing, encourage them, for I know they will fight well enough in company. Accordingly we took his advice, marching fifty to the right wing, and the ſame number to the left, and the reſt made a line of reſerve, leaving the laſt 200 men to guard the camels, or to aſſiſt us as occaſion required.

Thus prepared, a party of them came forward, viewing our poſture, and traverſing the ground on the front of our line: Hereupon we ordered the two wings to fire, and each of them to give a ſalvo with their ſhot, which accordingly was done. And this indeed put a ſtop to their proceeding; for ſoon after wheeling off to their left, and undoubtedly giving an account to their companions what reception they might expect, they gave over their enterpriſe.

When we came to the city of *Naum*, we returned the Governour hearty thanks, and gave 100 crowns among the ſoldiers

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that guarded us. We rested there but one day, and then proceeded on our travels, passing several great rivers and deserts, till, on the 13th of *April*, we came to the frontiers of *Muscovy*, the first town of which was called *Argun*.

This happy event, as I thought it, of coming into a Christian country, made me congratulate the *Scotch* merchant upon it: He smiled at that, telling me, not to rejoice too soon; for, said he, except the *Russian* soldiers in garrison, and a few inhabitants of the cities upon the road, all the rest of this country for above a thousand miles, is inhabited by the most ignorant and barbarous Pagans.

We advanced from the river *Argun* by moderate journeys; and found convenient garrisons in the land filled with Christian soldiers, for the security of commerce, and for the convenient lodging of travellers; but the inhabitants of the country were mere Pagans, worshipping the sun, moon, and stars. And this idolatry we met near *Argun*, at a city of the *Tartars* and *Russians* joined together, called *Nerifinkey:* For being curious to see their way of living, while the caravan continued to rest themselves in that city, I went to one of their villages, when there was to be one of their solemn sacrifices. There behold upon the stump of an old tree, was placed an idol of wood, more ugly than the representation of the devil himself; its head was such as resembled no living creature; its ears were as big and high as goats' horns, a crooked nose, four-cornered mouth, and horrible teeth: It was clothed in sheeps' skins, had a great *Tartar* bonnet, with two horns growing through it, and was eight feet high; without feet, legs, or proportion. Before this idol, there lay 16 or 17 people, who brought their offerings, and were making their prayers; while at a distance stood three men and one bullock, as victims to their ugly monster.

Such stupendous sacrilege as this, in robbing the true God of his honour, filled me with the greatest astonishment and reflexion; which soon turning to rage and fury, I rode up to the image, and cut in pieces the bonnet that was upon his head with my sword, so that it hung down by one of the horns; while one of my men that was with me, pulled at it by its sheep-skin garment: But immediately an hideous howling and outcry ran through the village, and two or three hundred people coming about our ears, we were obliged to fly for it.

But I had not done with the monster; for the caravan being to rest three nights in the town, I told the *Scotch* merchant what I had seen, and I was resolved to take four or five men well armed with me, in order to destroy the idol, and shew the people how little reason they had to trust to it, who could not save itself. At first he laughed at me, representing the danger of it; and when it was destroyed, what time had we to preach

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to them better things, whose zeal and ignorance were in the highest degree, and both unparalelled; that if I should be taken by them, I should be served like a poor *Russian*, who contemned their worship; that is, be stripped naked, and tied to the top of the idol, there shot at with arrows till my body was full of them, and then burnt as a sacrifice to the monster: But, Sir, said he, since your zeal carries you so far, rather than you should be alone, I will accompany you, and bring a stout fellow, equal to yourself, if he will assist us in this design: And accordingly he brought one called Captain *Richardson*, who hearing the story, readily consented; but my partner declined it, being altogether out of his way: And so we three, and my man servant, resolved to execute this exploit, about midnight; but upon second thoughts we deferred it to the next night, by reason the caravan being to go from thence next morning, we should be out of the Goverour's power. Well, I procured a *Tartar*'s sheep-skin robe, a bonnet, with bows and arrows, and every one of us got the like habits. The first night we spent in mixing combustible matter with aquavitæ, gunpowder, &c. having a good quantity of tar in a little pot. And the last night coming to the idol about eleven o'clock, the moon being up, we found none guarding; but we perceived a light in the house, where we saw the priests before. One man was for firing the hut, another for killing the people, and a third for making them prisoners, while the idol was destroyed. And, in short, to the latter we agreed; so that knocking at the door, we seized the first that opened it, then stopping his mouth, and tying his feet together, left him with the idol. In this manner did we serve two others, but the valiant *Scotch* merchant being discovered at length, rushed in upon them, being backed by us, and set fire to the composition, which frightened them so much, that we brought them all away, as prisoners to their wooden god. Then we fell to work with him, daubing him all over with tar, mixed with tallow and brimstone, stopping his eyes, ears and mouth full of gunpowder, with a great piece of wildfire in his bonnet, and environed it with dry forage. All this being done, we unloosened and ungagged the prisoners, and set the idol on fire, which the gunpowder blowing up, the shape of it was deformed, rent and split, which the forage utterly consumed; for we stayed to see its destruction, lest the ignorant idolatrous people should have thrown themselves into the flame. And thus we came away undiscovered, appearing so busy in the morning among our fellow-travellers, that nobody could have suspected, but that we had been in our beds all night.

But after we were set out, and had got some small distance from the city, there came a great multitude of the country people to the gates, demanding satisfaction of the *Russian* Gov-

ernour, for insulting their priests, and burning their great *Cham Chi Thaungu*, who dwelt in the Sun, and that no mortal would violate his image, but some Christian miscreants: And therefore, being already 30,000 strong, they denounced war against him and all his Christians.

The Governour assured them he was ignorant of the matter, and that none of his garrison had been out; that indeed there was a caravan that went away that morning, that he would send after them to inquire into it, and whoever were the offenders, should be delivered into their hands. This satisfied them for the present; but the Governour sent to inform us, that if any of us had done it, we should make our escape; or if not, make all the haste away possible, while he kept them in play as long as he could. Hereupon we marched two days and two nights, stopping but very little, till at last we rested at a village called *Plotbus*, and hasted to *Jarawena*, another of the Czar's colonies. But on the second day's march from the former, having entered the desert, and passed the lake *Shaks-Oser*, we beheld a numerous body of horse on the other side of it to the north, who supposed we had passed that side of the lake: And in three days after, having found their mistake, or being informed which way we went, they came upon us toward the dusk of the evening, just as we had pitched our camp between two little but very thick woods, with a little river running before our front, and we cut down some trees to place in our rear, but before we had finished our situation, the enemy were at hand. But not falling on us immediately, they sent three messengers, who demanded the men who had insulted their priests, and burnt their god *Cham Chi Thaungu*, that they might be burnt, and then they would peaceably depart; but if not, they would destroy them all. Hereupon our men stared at one another, but nobody was the word, as indeed nobody knew it but those who did it. Upon which the leader of the caravan answered, that they were peaceable merchants, who meddled with none of their priests or gods; and therefore desired them not to disturb us, and put us to the necessity of defending ourselves. But so far was this from satisfying them, that the next morning, coming to our right, they let fly a volley of arrows at us, but hurt not any, because we sheltered ourselves under the baggage: But as we expected to come to an engagement, a cunning father, a *Cossack*, obtaining leave of the leader to go to these people, mounts his horse, and rides directly from our rear; when taking a circuit, he comes back as though he had been sent express; tells them a formal story, that the villains who burnt the *Cham Chi Thaungu*, were gone to *Sibielska*, with a resolution to burn the god *Shal-Isar*, belonging to the *Tongueses*. Upon which, believing this cunning *Tartar*, who was servant to our *Muscovites*, away they drove

drove to *Sibielska*, and in less than three hours were out of sight, nor did we ever hear of them more.

When we came to the city of *Jarawena*, we rested there five days, and then entered into a frightful desert, which held us twenty three days march, infested with several small companies of robbers or *Mogul Tartars*, who never had the courage to attack us. But after we had passed over this place, we found several *Tartars*: In particular the governour of *Adinskoy* offered us a guard of fifty men, to the next station; if we apprehended any danger. All this way the natives retained the same Paganism and barbarity, only not so dangerous, being conquered by the *Muscovites*. The clothing, both of men and women, are the skins of beasts, living under ground in vaults and caves, which run into one another. They have idols in almost every family; besides, they adore the sun and stars, water and snow; and the least uncommon thing that happens in the elements, alarms them as much as thunder and lightning does the unbelieving *Jews*.

Through all the country nothing more remarkable occurred: When we had got through this great desert I before mentioned, after two days farther travel, we came to *Janeza*, a *Muscovite* city, on the great river so called, which we are told, parts *Europe* from *Asia*. Neither here are the Pagans much better, though intermixed with the *Muscovites*; but the wonder will ceale, when I inform my reader of what was observed to me, that the Czar converts the *Tartars* with soldiers, not clergymen, and is more assiduous to make them faithful subjects than good Christians.

From this city to the river *Oby*, we travelled over a pleasant, fruitful, but very uncultivated country, for want of good management and people, and those few are mostly Pagans. This is the place where the *Muscovite* criminals are banished to, if they are not put to death. The next city we came to, was the capital city of *Siberia*, called *Tobolski*, when having been almost seven months on our journey, and winter drawing on apace, my partner and I consulted about our particular affairs, in what manner we should dispose of ourselves. We had been told of sledges and rein deer, to carry us over the snow in the winter season, the snow being frozen very hard, making an entire covering to the ground, so that the sledges can run upon the surface without any regard to what is beneath. But I, being bound to *England*, must either go with the caravan to *Jereslaw*, thence west to *Narva*, and the gulf of *Finland*, and so by land or sea to *Denmark*; or else I must leave the caravan at a little town on the *Dwina*, and so go to *Archangel*, where I was sure of shipping either to to *England*, *Holland* or *Hamburgh*. One night I fell in company with an illustrious, but banished prince, whose company and virtues were such as made me propose

a method

a method to him to obtain his liberty. My dear friend, said he, as I am freed from my miserable greatness, with all its attendants of pride, ambition, avarice and luxury; if I should escape from this place, those pernicious seeds may revive again, to my lasting disquietude: Therefore let me stay in a blessed confinement. For I am but flesh, a mere man, with passions and affections as such: O be not my friend and tempter too! Struck dumb with surprise, I stood silent a while; nor was he in less disorder, by which perceiving he wanted to give vent to his mind, I desired him to consider of it, and so withdrew. But about two hours after he came to my apartment, Dear friend, said he, though I cannot consent to accompany you, I shall have this satisfaction in parting, that you leave me an honest man still; but as a testimony of my affection to you, be pleased to accept this present of sables.

I sent my servant the next morning to his Lordship, with a small present of tea, two pieces of *China* damask, and four little wedges of gold: But he only accepted the tea, one piece of damask, and a wedge of gold, for the curiosity of the *Japan* stamp upon it. Not long after he sent for me, and told me, that what he had refused himself, he hoped, upon his account, I would grant to another whom he should name: In short, it was his only son, who was above 200 miles distant from him on the other side of the *Oby*, whom he could send for, if I gave my consent. This I soon complied with, upon which he sent his servants the next day for his son, who returned in twenty days time, bringing seven horses loaded with valuable furs. At night the young Lord was conducted incognito to our apartment, where his father presented him to me. We then consulted the best way for travelling, and, after buying a considerable quantity of sables, black fox skins, fine ermines, &c. (which I sold at *Archangel* at a good price) we set out from this city the beginning of *June*, making a small caravan, being about 32 horses and camels, of which I represented the head. My young Lord had with him a very faithful *Siberian* servant, well acquainted with the roads: We shunned the principal towns and cities, as *Tumen*, *Sal-Kamaskoy*, and several others, by reason of their strictness in examining travellers, lest any of the banished persons of distinction should escape. Having passed the river *Kama*, we came to a city on the *European* side called *Soloy Kamoskoy*, where we found the people mostly Pagans as before. We then passed a desert about 200 miles over, but in other places it is near 700: In passing this wild place, we were beset by a troop of men on horseback, about forty-five, armed with bows and arrows. At first they looked earnestly on us, and then placed themselves in our way. We were about sixteen men, and drew up in a little line before our camels. My young Lord sent out his servant to know who

they

they were; but when he approacked them, he neither knew a word they ſaid, nor would they admit him to come near them at his peril, but prepared to ſhoot him. At his return he told us, he believed them to be *Calmuck Tartars*, and that he thought there were more of them upon the deſert. This was but a ſmall comfort for us, yet ſeeing a little grove at about a quarter of a mile diſtance, we moved to it by the old *Portugueſe* pilot's advice, without meeting any oppoſition. In this place we found a ſpringy piece of ground, a great ſpring running from a little brook on one ſide, joined with another like it a little farther, which in ſhort was the head of the river *Wriiſka*. We went to work, immediately cutting down great arms of trees, and laid them hanging (not quite cut off) from one tree to another. And thus we waited the motions of the enemy, without perceiving any advance they made towards us: But about two hours before night, being joined by ſome others, they made about 80 horſe, among whom we fancied were ſome women, and coming to us with great fury, we fired without ball, calling to them in the *Ruſſian* tongue to know their buſineſs; but they not underſtanding us, or pretending ſo, came directly to the wood ſide, not conſidering that we were ſo fortified, that they could not break in. Our old pilot proved both our captain and engineer, and deſired us not to fire till they came within piſtol ſhot, and he gave the word of command; then to take the ſureſt aim: But he did not bid us fire, till they were within two pikes of us; and then we killed 15 of them, wounded ſeveral, as alſo their horſes, having every one charged with two or three balls at leaſt. So much were they ſurprized at our undauntedneſs, that they fell back about one hundred rods from us. In the mean time we loaded again, and all ſallying out, ſecured four or five of their horſes, whoſe riders we found were killed, and perceived them to be *Tartars*. About an hour after they made another attempt to break in, but finding us ready to receive them, they retired.

All that night we worked hard in ſtrengthening our ſituation, and barricadoing the entrances into the woods; but when day light came, we made a very unwelcome diſcovery; for the enemy being encouraged by their aſſiſtance, had ſet up eleven or twelve tents, in the form of a camp, about three quarters of a mile from us. I muſt confeſs, I was never more concerned in my life, giving myſelf, and all that I had, over for loſt: As for my partner, as the loſs of his goods would be his ruin, before they ſhould be taken from him, he would fight to the laſt drop of his blood. But to eſcape their numbers, I had recourſe to a ſtratagem, by kindling a large flame to burn all night; and no ſooner was it dark, but we purſued our journey towards the pole, or the north ſtar, and ſo travelling all night, by ſix o'clock in the morning we came to a *Ruſ-*

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sian village, called *Kermanzinskoy*, where we passed a little river called *Kerzta*, and from thence came to a large town named *Ozouoys*, where we heard that several troops of *Calmuck Tartars* had been abroad upon the desert, but that we were past all danger. Within five days after, we came to *Veustima*, upon the river *Witzedga*: From thence we came to *Laworenskoy*, on the 3d of *July*, where providing ourselves with two luggage boats and a convenient bark, we embarked the 7th, and arrived at *Archangel* the 18th, after a year, five months, and three days journey, including the eight months and odd days we spent at *Toboiski*. We came from *Archangel* the 20th of *August* in the same year, and arrived at the *Elbe* the 30th of *September*. And here indeed my partner and I made a very good sale of our goods, both those of *China* and *Siberia*, when dividing our effects, my share came to £3475. 17*s*. 3*d*. after all the losses we had sustained, and charges we had been at. At *Hamburgh* my young Lord parted from me, in order to go to the court of *Vienna*, not only to seek protection, but to correspond with his father's friends: And, after we had staid four months at *Hamburgh*, I came from thence over land to the *Hague*, where embarking in the packet, I arrived in *London* the 10th of *January*, 1705, after ten years and nine months absence from *England*.

ROBINSON

ROBINSON CRUSOE's VISION

OF THE

ANGELIC WORLD.

CHAPTER I.

Of Solitude.

HOWEVER solitude is looked upon as a restraint to the pleasures of the world, in company and conversation; yet it is a happy state of exemption from a sea of trouble, an inundation of vanity, vexation and disappointment. While we enjoy ourselves, neither the joy nor sorrow of other men affect us: We are then at liberty, with the voice of our soul, to speak to God. By this we shun such frequent trivial discourse, as ever becomes an obstruction to virtue: And how often do we find we had reason to wish we had not been in company, or said nothing when we were there: For either we offend God by the impiety of our discourse, or lay ourselves open to the violence of designing people by unguarded expressions: And consequently perceive the coldness and treachery of pretended friends, when once involved in trouble and affliction: And such unfaithful intimates (I should say enemies) who rather by false inuendoes would accumulate miseries upon us, than honestly assist us when suffering under the most artful and designing men. But in a state of solitude, when our tongues cannot be heard except by the Great Majesty of Heaven, how happy are we, in the blessed enjoyment of converse with our Maker! 'Tis then we make him our friend, which makes us above the envy and contempt of wicked men. And when a man converses with himself, he is sure that he does not converse with an enemy: At least, we should retreat to good company, and good books: I mean not by solitude that a man should retire into a cell, a desert, or a monastery, which would be altogether an useless and unprofitable restraint: For as men are formed for society, and have an absolute necessity and dependence one upon another; so there is a retirement of the soul, in which it converses with heaven, even in the midst of men: And indeed no man is

more

more fit to ſpeak freely, than he, who can without any violence to himſelf, refrain his tongue, or keep ſilent altogether. As to religion, it is by this the ſoul gets acquainted with the hidden myſteries of the holy writings: Here ſhe finds thoſe floods of tears, in which good men waſh themſelves day and night; and only make a viſit to God, and his holy angels. In this converſation, the trueſt peace and moſt ſolid joy are to be found; it is a continual feaſt of contentment on earth, and the means of attaining everlaſting happineſs in heaven.

CHAP. II.

Of Honeſty.

HONESTY is a virtue beloved by good men, and pretended to by all perſons: In this there are ſeveral degrees: To pay every man his own, is the *common* law of honeſty; but to do good to all mankind, is the *Chancery* law of honeſty; and this chancery court is in every man's breaſt, where his *Conſcience* is *Lord Chancellor*. Hence it is that a miſer, though he pays every one their own, cannot be an honeſt man, when he does not diſcharge the good offices that are incumbent on a friendly, kind, generous perſon: For the prophet *Iſaiah* ſaith, ch. xxxvii. 7, 8. *The inſtruments of a churl are evil: He deviſeth wicked devices to deſtroy the poor with lying words, even when the needy ſpeaketh right. But the liberal deviſeth liberal things, and by liberal things ſhall he ſtand.* 'Tis certainly honeſty, to do every thing the law requires: but ſhould we throw every poor debtor in priſon till he has paid the utmoſt farthing, hang every malefactor without mercy, exact the penalty of every bond, and the forfeiture of every indenture: why this would be downright cruelty, and not honeſty; and is contrary to that general rule, *to do to another, that which you would have done unto you.* Sometimes neceſſity makes an honeſt man a knave, when a rich man is an honeſt man, but no thanks to him for it. The trial of honeſty is this: Did you ever want bread, and had your neighbour's loaf in keeping, and would ſtarve, rather than eat it? Were you ever arreſted, having in your cuſtody another man's caſh, and would rather go to gaol than break it? If ſo, then indeed this may be reckoned honeſty. For King *Solomon* tells us, *that a good name is better than life, and is a precious ointment, and which when a man has once loſt he has nothing left worth keeping.*

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of Suffering Afflictions.

AFFLICTIONS are very common to all mankind, and whether they proceed from loſſes and diſappointments, or the malice of men, they often bring their advantages along with them: For this ſhews men the vanity and deceitfulneſs of this life, and is an occaſion of rectifying our meaſures, and bringing us to a more modeſt opinion of ourſelves: It tells us how neceſſary the aſſiſtance of Divine Grace is to us, when life itſelf becomes a burthen, and death even deſirable. But when the greateſt oppreſſion comes upon us, we muſt have recourſe to Patience, begging of God to give us that virtue. And the more compoſed we are in any trouble, the more commendable is our wiſdom; and the larger will be our recompence. And let the provocation be what it will, whether from a good natured and conſcientious, or a wicked, preverſe, and vexatious man, all this we ſhould take as from the over ruling hand of God, as a puniſhment for our ſins. Many times injured innocence may be abuſed by falſe oaths, or the power of wicked, jealous, or malicious men; but we often find it, like the palm, riſe the higher, the more it is depreſſed, while the juſtice of God is eminently remarkable in puniſhing thoſe, one way or other, who deſire or endeavour to procure the downfal of an innocent man: Nor does God fail comforting an afflicted perſon, who with tears and prayers ſolicits the throne of heaven for deliverance and protection. *David* ſays, *That his ſoul was full of trouble, and his life drew near unto the grave.* But certainly *David*'s afflictions made him eminently remarkable, particularly when purſued by King *Saul*, and hunted as a partridge over the mountains. But one thing which ſtands by innocence, is the love of God: For were we to ſuffer diſgrace, nay, an ignominious death itſelf, what conſolation does innocence procure at our lateſt conflict, our laſt moments?

CHAP. IV.

Of Immorality of Converſation, and the vulgar Errors of Behaviour.

AS converſation is a great part of human happineſs, ſo it is a pleaſant ſight to behold a ſweet tempered man, who is always fit for it; to ſee an air of humour and pleaſantneſs ſit upon every brow, and even ſomething angelic upon every countenance: Whereas if we obſerve a deſigning man, we ſhall find a mark of involuntary ſadneſs breaks in on his joy,

 and

and a certain insurrection in the soul against the tyranny of profligate principles.

They err very much, who think religion, or a strict morality discomposes the mind, and renders it unfit for conversation; for it is rather that which inspires us to innocent mirth, indeed, without a counterfeit joy, as vicious men appear with: And indeed wit is as consistent with religion, as religion is with good manners; nor is there any thing in the limitation of virtue and religion, that should abate the pleasure of it, but on the contrary increase it.

But on the other hand, many men by their own vice and intemperance, disqualify themselves for conversation, in being of cynical, surly and rude tempers, though they boast themselves otherwise. Conversation is immoral, where discourse is indecent, immodest, scandalous, slanderous or abusive. How great is their folly, and how much it is exposed, by affronting their best friend, even God himself, before men, whose notions are uncertain, and yet who laugh at the fool *when his fear cometh!*

The great scandal atheistical and immoral discourse gives to virtue, ought, methinks, to be punished by the judges: Make a man once cease to believe a God, and he has nothing left to limit his soul but mere philosophy. And how incongrous is this to government, that a man should be punished for drunkenness or swearing, and yet have liberty to affront and even deny the Majesty of Heaven? If a man gives the lie to a gentleman in company, or perhaps speaks a word without any offensive meaning, he flies into a passion, quarrels, fights, and perhaps murders him; or afterwards prosecutes him at law with the utmost villany and oppression.

The next thing to be refrained from is obscene discourse, which is the language only of the proficients in debauchery, who never repent but in a gaol or an hospital; and whose carcasses stink as bad as their discourse, till the body becomes too nasty for the soul to stay any longer in it.

Nor is false talking less to be avoided: For lying is the sheep's clothing hung upon the wolf's back; 'tis the *Pharisee*'s prayer, the whore's blush, the hypocrite's paint, the murderer's smile, the thief's cloak, 'tis *Joab*'s embrace, and *Judas*'s kiss; in a word. 'tis mankinds' darling sin, and the devil's distinguishing character. Some add lies to lies, till it not only comes to be improbable, but even impossible too: Others lie for gain, to deceive, delude, and betray: And a third sort lie for sport, or for *fun*. There are other liars, who are personal and malicious; who foment differences, and carry tales from one house to another, in order to gratify their own envious tempers, without any regard or reverence for truth.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of the present State of Religion in the World.

I DOUBT, indeed, there is much more devotion than religion in the world, more adoration than supplication, and more hypocrisy, than sincerity: And it is very melancholy to consider, what numbers of people there are, furnished with the powers of reason and the gifts of nature, and yet abandoned to the grossest ignorance and depravity. But it would be uncharitable for us to imagine, (as some Papists abounding with too much ill-nature, the only scandal to religion, do) that they will certainly be in the state of damnation after this life; for how can we think it consistent with the mercy and goodness of an infinite being, to damn those creatures, when he has not furnished them with the light of his gospel? Or how can such proud, conceited, and cruel bigots prescribe rules to the justice and mercy of God?

We are told by some people, that the great image which King *Nebuchadnezzar* set up to be adored by his people, held the representation of the sun in his right hand, as the principal object of adoration. But to wave this discourse of Heathens, how many self contradicting principles are held among Christians? And how do we doom one another to the devil, while all profess to worship the same Deity, and to expect the same salvation?

When I was at *Portugal* there was held at that time the court of justice of the inquisition. All the criminals were carried in procession to the great church; where eight of them were habited in gowns and caps of canvas, whereon the torments of hell were displayed, and they were condemned and burnt for crimes against the Catholic faith and Blessed Virgin.

I am sorry to make any reflexions upon Christians; but indeed in *Italy* the *Romish* religion seems the most cruel and mercenary upon earth: And a very judicious person, who travelled through *Italy* from *Turkey*, tells us, "That there is only the face, and outward pomp of religion there; that the church protects murderers and assassins, and then delivers the civil magistrates over to Satan for doing justice; interdicts whole kingdoms, and shuts up the churches for want of paying a few ecclesiastic dues, and so puts a stop to religion for want of their money: That the Court of Inquisition burnt two men for speaking dishonourably of the Blessed Virgin, and the missionaries of *China* tolerated the worshipping the devil by their new converts: That *Italy*, was the theatre, where religion was the grand opera; and that the Popish clergy were no other than the stage players."

As to religion in *Poland*, they deny Christ to be the Messiah, or that the Messiah was come in the flesh. And as to their Protestants, they are the followers of *Lelius Socinus*, who denied

nied our Saviour's divinity; and have no concern about the divine inspiration of the Holy Ghost.

In *Muscovy* their churches are built of wood, and indeed they have but wooden priests, though of the *Greek* church: They pray as much to St. *Nicholas*, as Papists do to the Virgin *Mary*, for protection in all their difficulties or afflictions.

As to *Lutherans*, they only differ from the *Romans* in believing Consubstantiation, instead of Transubstantation; but, like them, they are much pleased with the external gallantry and pomp, more than the true and real practice of religion.

In *France* I found a world of priests, the streets every where crowded with them, and the chuches full of women; but surely never was a nation so full of blind guides, so ignorant of religion, and even as void of morals, as those people who confess their sins to them.

Now it seems strange, that while all men own the Divine Being, there should be so many different sentiments about paying him obedience in the Christian church: I know not what reason to assign for this, except it be their different capacities and faculties.

And indeed upon this account, we have perceived in all Christian countries what mortal feuds have been about religion: what wars and bloodshed have molested *Europe*, till the general pacification of the *German* troubles at the treaty of *Westphalia*; and since, between the *Lutheran* churches? And should I take a prospect at home, what unhappy divisions are between Christians in this kingdom about Episcopacy, Presbytery, the Church of *England* men and the Dissenters; and where they withstand one another like St. *Paul* and St. *Peter*, even to the face; as much as to say, carry on the dispute to the utmost extremity.

It might be a question, why there are such differences in religious points, and why these breaches should be so hot and irreconcileable? All the answer I can give to this, is, that we inquire more concerning the truth of religion, than any other nation in the world; and the anxious concern we have about it, makes us jealous of every opinion; and tenacious of our own: And this is not because we are more furious and rash than other people; but the truth is, we are more concerned about them, and being sensible that the scripture is the great rule of faith, the standard for life and doctrine, we have recourse to it ourselves, without submitting to the pretended infallible judge upon earth.

There is another question pertinent to the former, what remedy can we apply to this malady? And to this I must negatively answer, not to have us be less religious, that we might differ less about it: And this is striking at the very root of all religious differences; for certainly, were they to be

carried

carried on with a peaceable ſpirit, willing to be informed, our variety of opinions would not have the name of differences; nor ſhould we ſeparate in communion of charity, though we did not agree in ſeveral articles of religion.

Nor is there a leſs uſeful queſtion to ſtart, namely, where will our unhappy religious differences end? To which I hope I may anſwer, *In Heaven*: There all unchriſtian and unbrotherly differences will find a period; there we ſhall embrace many a ſinner that here we think it a diſhonour to converſe with; and perceive many a heart we have broken here with cenſures, reproaches and revilings, made whole again by the balm of the Redeemer's blood. Here we ſhall perceive there have been other flocks than thoſe of our fold; that thoſe we have excommunicated have been taken into that ſuperiour communion; and, in a word, that thoſe contradicting notions and principles, which we thought inconſiſtent with true religion, we ſhall find reconcileable to themſelves, to one another, and to the fountain of truth. If any man aſk me, why our differences cannot be ended on earth? I anſwer, were we all thoroughly convinced, that then they would be reconciled, we would put an end to them before; but this is impoſſible to be done: for as men's certain convictions of truth are not equal to one another, or to the weight and ſignificancy of ſuch veracity; ſo neither can a general effect of this affair be expected on this ſide of time, this ſide of the grave.

Before I conclude this chapter, I ſhall beg leave to diſcourſe a little of the wonderful excellency of negative religion and negative virtue. The latter ſets out like the *Phariſee* with *God, I thank thee*; 'tis a piece of religious pageantry, the hypocrite's hope; and in a word, 'tis a poſitive vice: For it is either a *maſk* to deceive others, or a *miſt* to deceive ourſelves. A man thus clothed with negatives, thus argues: I am not ſuch a drunkard as my landlord, ſuch a thief as my tenant, ſuch a ſwearer as my neithbour; neither am I a cheat, an atheiſt, a rakiſh fellow, or a highwayman: No! I live a ſober, regular, retired life: I am a good man, I go to church, *God I thank thee* Now though a man boaſts of his virtue in contradiction to the vices mentioned, yet a perſon had better be them all together than *the man himſelf*, for he is ſo full of himſelf, ſo perſuaded that he is good and religious enough already, that he has no thoughts of any thing, except it be to pull off his hat to God Almighty now and then, and thank him, that he has no occaſion for him; and has the vanity to think that his neighbours muſt imagine well of him too.

Now the negative man, though he is no drunkard, yet is intoxicated with the pride of his own worth: A good neighbour and peacemaker in other families, but a tyrant in his own: appears in church for a ſhew, but never falls upon his knees in

his closet; does all his alms before men to be seen by them; eager in the duties of the second table, but regardless of the first; appears religious to be taken notice of by men, but without intercourse or communication between God and his own soul. Pray what is this man? Or what comfort is there of the life he lives? He is sensible of faith, repentance, and a christian mortified life: In a word, he is perfectly a stranger to the essential part of religion.

Let us, for a while, enter into the private and retired part of his conversation: What notions has he of his mispent hours, and the natural reflux of all our minutes on to the great centre and gulph of life, *Eternity?* Does he know how to put a right value on time, or esteem *the life blood of his soul*, as it really is, and act in all the moments of it, as one that must account for them? If then you cannot form an equality between what he can do, and what he shall receive; less can it be founded upon his negative virtue, or what he forbore to do; and if neither his negative or positive piety can be equal to the reward, and to the eternity that reward is to last for, what then is to become of the *Pharisee*, when he is to be judged by the sincerity of his repentance, and rewarded, according to the infinite grace of God, with a state of blessedness to an endless eternity?

When the negative man converses with the invisible world, he is filled with as much horrour and dread, as *Fœlix* when St. *Paul* reasoned to him of temperance, righteousness, and of judgment to come: For *Fœlix*, though a great philosopher of great power and reverence, was a negative man; and he was made sensible, by the apostle, that as a life of virtue and temperance was its own reward, by giving a healthy body, a clear head, and a composed life; so eternal happiness must proceed from another spring; namely, the infinite unbounded grace of a provoked God, who having erected a righteous tribunal, Jesus Christ would separate such as by faith and repentance he had brought home and united to himself by the grace of adoption; and on the foot of his having laid down his life as a ransom for them, had appointed them to salvation, when all the philosophy, temperance, and righteousness in the world besides, was ineffectual; and this, I say, it was, that made *Fœlix*, this negative man, tremble.

CHAP. VI.

Of Listening to the Voice of Providence.

THE magnificent and wise King *Solomon* bids us *cry after knowledge, and lift up our voice for understanding*; which is explained to us as a *religious* knowledge by the following words:

words: *Then ſhalt thou underſtand the fear of the Lord, and find the knowledge of God.* By which undoubtedly he meant to inquire after every thing he has permitted us to know, and not to ſearch into thoſe ways that are unſearchable, and are effectually locked up from our knowledge. Now, *as liſtening to the voice of Providence* is my preſent ſubject, I am very willing in the firſt place, to ſuppoſe that I am writing to thoſe who own, 1. That there is a God, a firſt great moving cauſe of all things, an eternal power, prior, and conſequently ſuperior, to all power and being. 2. That this eternal power, which is God, is the ſovereign creator and governour of heaven and earth.

To avoid all needleſs diſtinctions what perſons in the Godhead exerciſe the creating, and what the governing power, I offer that glorious text, Pſalm xxxiii. 6. Where the whole Trinity is entitled to the whole creating work; and therefore in the next place, I ſhall lay down theſe two propoſitions:

I. *That the Eternal God guides by his Providence the whole univerſe, which was created by his power.*

II. *That this Providence manifeſts a particular care over, and concern in the governing and directing man, the moſt noble creature upon earth.*

Now it is plain, that natural religion proves the firſt, by intimating the neceſſity of a Providence guiding and governing the world, from the conſequence of the wiſdom, juſtice, preſcience, and goodneſs of the Almighty Creator: For otherwiſe it would be abſurd to think that God ſhould create a world, without any care or providence over it, in guiding the operations of nature, ſo as to preſerve the order of his creation.

Revealed religion gives us light into the care and concern of his Providence, by the climates being made habitable, the creatures ſubjected and made nourihing, and all vegetative life made medicinal; and all this for the ſake of man, who is made viceroy to the king of the earth. The ſhort deſcription I ſhall give of Providence is this, that it is that operation of the power, of the wiſdom, juſtice and goodneſs of God, by which he influences, governs and directs, not only the means, but the events of all things, which concern us in this ſublunary world; the ſovereignty of which we ought always to reverence, obey its motions. obſerve its dictates; and *liſten to its voice. The prudent man foreſeeth evil, and hideth himſelf*; that is, as I take it, there is a ſecret Providence intimates to us, that ſome danger threatens, if we ſtrive not to ſhun it.

The ſame day of the month that Sir *John Hotham* kept out *Hull* againſt the royal martyr King *Charles* I. the ſame day Sir *John Hotham* was put to death by the Parliament for that very action: The ſame day that the King himſelf ſigned the warrant for the execution of the Earl of *Strafford*, the ſame day of the

the month was he barbarouſly murdered by the blood thirſty *Oliverian* crew: And the ſame day that King *James* II. came to the crown againſt the bill of excluſion, the ſame day he was voted abdicated by the parliament, and the throne filled with King *William* and Queen *Mary*.

The voice of ſignal deliverances from ſudden dangers, is not only a juſt call to repentance, but a caution againſt falling into the like danger: But ſuch, who are utterly careleſs of themſelves after, ſhew a lethargy of the worſt nature, which ſeems to me to be a kind of practical atheiſm, or at leaſt a living in a contempt of heaven, when he receives good at the hand of his Maker, but is unconcerned at the nature and original of it; neither when he receives evil does it bring him to any ſtate of humiliation.

We have a remarkable ſtory of two ſoldiers being condemned to death in *Flanders*, the general being prevailed upon to ſpare one of them, ordered them to caſt dice upon the drum-head for their lives: The firſt throwing two ſixes, wrung his hands, but was ſurprized when the other threw two ſixes alſo. The officer appointed to ſee the execution ordered them to throw again; they did ſo, and each of them threw two fives; at which the ſoldiers that ſtood round ſhouted, and ſaid neither of them was to die. Hereupon the officer acquainted the council of war, who ordered them to throw again, and then came up two fours: The general being made acquainted with it, ſends for the men, and pardoned them: *I love*, ſays he, *in ſuch extraordinary caſes, to liſten to the voice of Providence.*

We read in the holy writings, how God ſpeaks to men, by appearance of angels, or by dreams and viſions of the night. As God appeared to *Abraham*, *Lot*, and *Jacob*; ſo angels have appeared to many in other caſes, as *Manoah* and his wife, *Zacchariah*, the Virgin *Mary*, and to the apoſtles; others have been warned in a dream, as King *Abimilech*, the falſe prophet *Balaam*, and many others.

It is certainly a very great and noble inquiry, what we ſhall be after this life, being aſſured that there is a place reſerved for the reception of our ſouls after death: For if we are to be, we muſt have *a where*, which the ſcriptures aſſert by the examples of *Dives* and *Lazarus*. The doctrine of ſpirits was long believed before our Saviour's time; for even the diſciples of the bleſſed Jeſus perceiving our Saviour walking on the ſea, they were much ſurprized, as though they had ſeen a ſpirit. Nay, in thoſe ages of the world, it was believed that ſpirits intermeddled in the affairs of mankind: And throughout the Old Teſtament I do not find any inſtitution, that in the leaſt contradicts it. All the pains and labour that ſome learned men have taken to confute the ſtory of the witch of *Endor*, and the appearance of an old man perſonating *Samuel*, cannot

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make ſuch apparitions inconſiſtent with nature or religion: And it is plain, that, was it either a good or bad ſpirit, it prophetically told the unfortunate king what ſhould happen the next day: For, ſaid the ſpirit, *The Lord will deliver thee into the hand of the Philiſtines; and to-morrow ſhalt thou, and thy ſons, be with me.*

Abundance of ſtrange notions poſſeſſed me when I was in the deſolate iſland; eſpecially of a moonſhiny night, when every buſh ſeemed a man, and every tree a man on horſeback. When I crept into the diſmal cave, where the old goat lay expiring, whoſe articulate groans even reſembled thoſe of a man, how was I ſurprized on this occaſion, when my blood chilled in my veins, a cold ſweaty dew ſat on my forehead, my hair ſtood upright, and my joints, like *Belſhazzar's* knees, ſhook againſt one another. And indeed, though I afterwards found what it was, the remains of this ſurprize did not wear off me for a great while; and I had frequently ſome returns of thoſe vapours on different occaſions, and ſometimes without any occaſion at all.

One night, after having ſeen ſome appearance in the air, as I had juſt laid down in my bed, one of my feet pained me; after that came a numbneſs ſucceeded with a tingling in my blood; when on a ſudden I thought ſomething alive lay upon me, from my knee to above half my leg. Hereupon immediately I flung myſelf out of bed in the dark, where I thought the creature lay: But finding nothing, *Lord deliver me from an evil ſpirit*, ſaid I, *what can this be?* And when I lighted a candle, I could perceive no living creature in the place with me, but the poor parrot, who being frighted, cried out, *Hold your tongue*, and *What's the matter with you?* which words I had taught him, by ſaying ſo to him, when he made ſuch ſcreaming noiſes that I did not like. *Lord*, ſaid I aloud, *ſurely the devil has been here. Hold your tongue*, ſays *Poll*. I then was mad at the bird, and putting on my clothes, cried, I am terribly frighted. *What's the matter with you?* ſays *Poll*. You toad, ſaid I, I'll knock your brains out. *Hold your tongue*, cried he again, and ſo fell a chattering, and calling *Robinſon Cruſoe*, as he did before. But after I had compoſed myſelf, and went to bed again, I began plainly to ſee it was a diſtemper that affected the nerves, and ſo my terrors vaniſhed at once.

How intelligences are given or received, we do not know; nor are we ſenſible of their being conveyed this way, from the ſpirits unembodied, to ours that are in life; or of their being conveyed that way, namely from us to them: The latter certainly is done without the help of organs, and the former is conveyed by the underſtanding, and the retired faculties of the ſoul.

The ſpirits, without the help of voices, converſe.

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The more particular discoveries of the converse of spirits, seem to me as follow:

Dreams, voices, noises, impulses, hints, apprehensions, involuntary sadness, &c.

Dreams of old were the ways by which God himself was pleased to warn men what services to perform, and what to shun. *Joseph* was directed of God in a dream to go to *Egypt*, and so were the wise men warned in a dream to depart into their own country another way, to avoid the fury of *Herod*. I am not like those who think dreams are the mere dosings of a delirious head, or the relicts of a day's perplexities or pleasures; but on the contrary, I must take leave to say, I never had any capital mischief befel me in my life, but I had some notice of it by a dream; and had I not been a thoughtless unbelieving creature, I might have taken many a warning, and avoided many of the evils I afterwards fell into, merely by a total neglect of those dreams.

I remember, I was present at a dispute between a layman and a clergyman upon the subject of dreams: The first, thought no regard should be given unto them, that their communication from the invisible to the visible world was a mere chimera, without any solid foundation: For, 1. (said he) if dreams were from the agency of any prescient being, the motives would be more direct, and the discoveries more plain; and not by allegories and emblematic fancies expressing things imperfect and obscure. 2. Since, with the notice of evil, there was not a power given to avoid it, it is not likely to proceed from a spirit, but merely fortuitous. 3. That the inconstancy of such notices, in cases equally important, prove, they did not proceed from any such agent. 4. That as our most distinct dreams had nothing in them of any significancy, it would be irrational and vain to think that they came from heaven. And, 5. That as men were not always thus warned or supplied with notice of good or evil, so all men are not alike supplied with them; and what reason could we give, why one man or one woman should not have the same hints as another.

To all this the clergyman gave answer, 1. That as to the signification of dreams, and the objections against them, as being dark and doubtful, they are expressed generally by hieroglyphical representations, similes, allusions, and figurative emblematic ways, by which means, for want of interpretation, the thing was not understood, and consequently the evil not shunned. 2. That we charge God foolishly, to say he has given the notice of evil without the power to avoid it; for if any one had not power to avoid the evil, it was no notice to him; and it was want of giving due heed to that notice, that men first neglected themselves, and then charged the Judge of all the earth with injustice. 3. That we ought not to find fault with

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the inconſtancy of theſe notices, but rather our crazy underſtandings, by pretending dreams were not to be regarded, and neglected when the voice really ſpoke to us for our good. It was a great miſtake to ſay dreams had no import at all; it might rather be ſaid, none that we could perceive the reaſon of, which was owing to our blindneſs and ſupine negligence to be ſecure at one time, and our heads too much alarmed at another; ſo that the ſpirit which we might be ſaid to be converſing with in a dream, was conſtantly and equally kind and careful; but our powers not always in the ſame ſtate of action, nor equally attentive to or retentive of the hints that were given. And, 5. To anſwer the laſt queſtion, Why people are not equally ſupplied? This ſeemed to be no queſtion; for Providence itſelf might have ſome ſhare in the direction of it, and then that Providence might be limited by ſome ſuperiour direction: That as to the converſe of ſpirits, he could not tie up to a ſtated converſe: Such a thing there was, but why there was ſo much of it, and no more, was none of his buſineſs, and that no ſuch diſcovery had ever been made yet to mankind. Nor are we leſs to imagine of walking dreams, trances, viſions, noiſes, hints, impulſes, and all the waking teſtimonies of an inviſible world, and of the communication that there is between us and them, which commonly entertain us with our eyes open.

One time my fancy ſoared on high, to ſee what diſcoveries I could make in thoſe clearer regions. I found that ſuch immenſe bodies as the ſun, ſtars, planets and moons in the great circle of the lower heaven, is far from being found in the ſtudy of nature, on the ſurface of the earth: Here I ſaw many things that we can entertain little or no notion of in a ſtate of common ſuperficial life, and the emptineſs of our notion that the planets were made habitable worlds; that is, I mean, for the ſubſiſtence and exiſtence of man and beaſt, and the preſervation of the vegetative and ſenſitive life: No no, this is, I aſſure you, a world of ſpirits: For here I ſaw a clear demonſtration of Satan being the prince of the power of the air, keeping his court or camp, with innumerable angels to attend him: But his power is not ſo great as we imagine, he can tempt us to the crime, but cannot force us to commit it: *Humanum eſt peccare.* Neither has the devil power to force the world into a rebellion againſt heaven, though his legions are employed in the ſavage nations to ſet up their maſter for a god, and who made the heathens either worſhip him in perſon, or by his repreſentatives, idols, and monſters, with the cruel ſacrifices of human blood. Now as to the limitations of the devil's power, you muſt underſtand, that there are numbers of good angels ſent from the higher and bleſt abodes, to diſconcert and oppoſe their meaſures: And this, I hope, every Chriſtian believes,

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when he prays to God, the Father of Spirits, to give his angels charge over him while he ſlumbereth and ſleepeth. For if by theſe preventing powers the devil was not reſtrained, the earth would be ſubject to dearth, droughts and famine; the air infected with obnoxious fumes; and, in a word, mankind would be utterly deſtroyed, which might oblige our Maker to the neceſſity of a new *Fiat*, or elſe have no more creatures to honour and worſhip him.

As the devil never wanted inſinuators, I ſhall obſerve, that I learned a way how to make a man dream of what I pleaſed. For inſtance, let us ſuppoſe one to be ſound aſleep, let another lay his mouth cloſe to his ear, and whiſper any thing ſo ſoftly as not to awake him, the ſleeping man ſhall dream of what has been ſo whiſpered in his ear; nay, I can aſſure you, theſe inſinuating devils can do this even when we are awake, which I call *impulſes of the mind*: For from whence, but from theſe inſinuators, come our cauſeleſs paſſions, involuntary wickedneſs, or ſinful deſires? Who elſe forms ideas in the mind of man when he is aſleep, or preſents terrible or beautiful figures to the fancy? Mr. *Milton* repreſents the devil tempting *Eve* in the ſhape of a toad lying juſt at her ear, when in her bower ſhe lay faſt aſleep; and brings in *Eve* telling *Adam* what an uneaſy night's reſt ſhe had, and relating her dream to him. And likewiſe I believe that good ſpirits have the ſame intercourſe with us, in warning us againſt thoſe things that are evil, and prompting us to thoſe which are good.

Were we to have the eyes of our ſouls opened through the eyes of our bodies, we ſhould ſee this very immediate region of air which we breathe in, thronged with ſpirits now inviſible, and which otherwiſe would be the moſt terrible: We ſhould view the ſecret tranſactions of thoſe meſſengers who are employed when the parting ſoul takes its leave of the reluctant body, and perhaps ſee things, nature would ſtart back from with the utmoſt terrour and amazement. In a word, the curtain of Providence for the diſpoſition of things here, and the curtain of judgment for the determination of the ſtate of ſouls hereafter would be alike drawn back; and what heart could ſupport here its future ſtate in life, much leſs that of its future ſtate after life, even good or bad.

A gentleman of my acquaintance, being about ſeven miles diſtant from *London*, a friend that came to dine with him, ſolicited him to go to the city. What for, ſaid the gentleman, is there any occaſion for me? No, Sir, ſaid the other, nothing at all, except the enjoyment of your good company; and ſo gave over importuning him. Juſt then a ſtrong impulſe of mind urged the gentleman, and purſed him like a voice with, *go to* London, *go to* London. Hark ye, ſays he to his friend, is all well at *London*? Am I wanted there? Or did you aſk me to go with you on any particular account? Are all my family

well?

well? Yes, indeed, Sir, ſaid he, I perceived them all very hearty; and I did not aſk you to go to *London* upon any particular account whatſoever, except it was for the ſake of your good company. Again, he puts off his reſolution, but ſtill the impulſe ſuggeſted to him, *Go to* London; and at length he did ſo; and when he came there he found a letter and meſſenger had been there to ſeek him, and to tell him of a particular buſineſs, which was firſt and laſt above a thouſand pounds to him, and which might have inevitably been loſt, had he not returned to *London* that night.

The obeying of ſeveral hints, or ſecret impulſes, argues great wiſdom. I knew a man that was under misfortunes, being guilty of miſdemeanors againſt the government; when abſconding for fear of his ruin, all his friends adviſing him not to put himſelf in the hands of the law, one morning as he awaked, he felt a ſtrong impulſe darting into his mind thus, *Write a letter to them:* And this was repeated ſeveral times to his mind, and at laſt he anſwered to it as if it had been a voice, *Who ſhall I write to?* Immediately it returned, *Write to the judge:* And this impulſe purſued him for ſeveral days, till at length he took pen, ink, and paper, and ſat down to write to him; when immediately words flowed from his pen like ſtreams from a fair fountain, that even charmed himſelf with expectation of ſucceſs: In ſhort, the letter was ſo ſtrenuous in argument, ſo pathetic in its eloquence, and perſuaſively moving, that when the judge had read it, he ſent him an anſwer he might be eaſy, for he would endeavour to make the matter light to him; and indeed never left exerting himſelf, till he had ſtopt the proſecution, and reſtored him to his liberty and family.

I knew a perſon, who had ſo ſtrong an impreſſion upon her mind, that the houſe ſhe was in would be burnt that very night, that ſhe could not go to ſleep, the impulſe ſhe had upon her mind preſſed her not to go to bed, which, however, ſhe reſiſted and went to bed, but was terrified with the thought, which, as ſhe called it, run into her mind, that the houſe would be burnt, that ſhe could not go to ſleep. So much diſcovery had ſhe made of her apprehenſions in the family, that they were all in a fright, and applied themſelves to ſearch from the top of the houſe to the bottom, and to ſee every fire and every candle ſafe out, ſo that, as they all ſaid, it was impoſſible any thing could happen in the houſe, and they ſent to the neighbours on both ſides to do the like. Thus far they did well, but had ſhe obeyed the hint, which preſſed upon her, ſtrangely, not to go to bed, ſhe had done much better, for the fire was actually kindled at that time, though not broken out. About an hour after the whole family was in bed, the houſe just over the way, directly oppoſite, was all in a flame, and

the wind, which was very high, blowing the flame upon the houſe this gentlewoman lived in, ſo filled it with ſmoke and fire, in a few moments, the ſtreet being narrow, that they had not air to breathe, or time to do any thing, but jump out of their beds, and ſave their lives; had ſhe obeyed the hint given, and not gone to bed, ſhe might have ſaved ſeveral things: but the few moments ſhe had ſpared to her, were but juſt ſufficient to leap out of bed, put ſome clothes on, and get down ſtairs, for the houſe was on fire in half a quarter of an hour.

While I am mentioning theſe things, methinks it is very hard, that we ſhould obey the whiſpers of evil ſpirits, and not much rather receive the notices which good ones are pleaſed to give. We never perceive the misfortune of this, but when in real danger; and then we cry, *my mind miſgave me*, when I was going about it: But if ſo, why did you ſlight the caution? Why not liſten to it, *as to a voice?* And then there had been no reaſon to make this complaint.

I remember about fourteen or fifteen years ago (as to time I cannot be very poſitive) there was a young clergyman in the city of *Dublin*, in *Ireland*, who had a very uncommon dream. That a gentleman had killed his wife (who was a relation of his) by ſtabbing her in ſeveral places. The fright of this ſoon awaked him; he then fell aſleep a ſecond time, dreamt the ſame dream; and, in ſhort, a third time alſo. So troubled was he in his mind, that he aroſe, and knocking at his mother's chamber, told his concern, and of his apprehenſions that all was not right at his relation's houſe. Dear ſon, ſays the good old gentlewoman, mind not theſe fooliſh dreams: And I very much wonder that you, being a perſon in holy orders, ſhould have regard to ſuch illuſions. He went to bed again, ſlept and dreamt as before. And then indeed he put on his night-gown, and went to *Smithfield*, the place where his relation dwelt. Here it was, alas! he perceived his dream too ſadly fulfilled, by ſeeing his relation, the young lady, big with child, who was a Proteſtant, ſtabbed in ſeven places, by her barbarous huſband, Mr. *Euſtace*, a rigid Papiſt, only upon ſome diſcourſes of religion that happened the day before: After the wretch had ſtabbed her in three places he endeavoured to eſcape out of a window, but ſhe cried, *My dear, don't leave me, come back*; *and I ſhall be well again.* At which he returned in a helliſh rage, and gave her four wounds more; when even in this condition, riſing from her bed, ſhe wrapt herſelf in her night-gown, and went to the Lord Biſhop of *Rapho*'s chamber door (the Biſhop lodging at that time in the houſe) *my Lord*, ſaid ſhe, *O, my Lord, make haſte unto me*; but as ſoon as his Lordſhip came, ſhe expired in his arms, reſigning her precious ſoul into the hands of Almighty God. The cruel wretch her huſband was ſhot by the purſuers, too good a death for one

who

who deſerved the gibbet: The lady was univerſally lamented by all tender and religious people. And this tragical relation I have mentioned upon the account of that impulſe, or dream, that the clergyman had at the fatal time of the bloody act.

It might be expected I ſhould enter upon the ſubject of apparitions, and diſcourſe concerning the reality of them; and whether they can reviſit the place of their former exiſtence, and reſume thoſe faculties of ſpeech and ſhape which they had when living; but as theſe are very doubtful matters, I ſhall only make a few obſervations upon them.

I once heard of a man who would allow the reality of apparitions, but laid it all on the devil, and thinking the ſouls of men departed did never appear; yet to this very man ſomething did appear, and then he ſaid he ſaw the ſhape of an ancient man paſs by him in the duſk, who holding up his hand in a threatening poſture, cried out, *O wicked man repent, repent.* Terrified with this apparition, he conſulted ſeveral friends, who adviſed him to take the advice. But, after all, it was not an apparition, but a grave and pious gentleman, who met him by mere accident, and had been made ſenſible of his wickedneſs; and who never undeceived him, leſt it ſhould hinder his reformation: Were we always willing to make good uſe of Satan's real appearances, I know not but it would go a great way to baniſh him from the viſible world; for I am very poſitive he would ſeldom viſit, if he thought his coming would do us any good: But ſo abſolutely is he at the command of heaven, that he muſt go, even to do the work he abhors.

Some people make a very ill uſe of the general notion, that there are no apparitions, nor ſpirits at all; which is worſe than thoſe who fancy they ſee them upon every occaſion: For thoſe carry their notions farther; even to annihilate the devil, and believe nothing about him, neither of one kind or other. The next ſtep they come to is to conclude *There is no God*; and ſo atheiſm takes its riſe in the ſame ſink, with a careleſſneſs about futurity: But there is no occaſion to enter upon argument, to prove the being of the Almighty, or to illuſtrate his power by words, who has ſo many undeniable teſtimonies in the breaſt of every rational being to prove his exiſtence: And we have proofs ſufficient enough to convince us of the great ſuperintendency of Divine Providence in the minuteſt affairs of the world, the manifeſt exiſtence of the inviſible world, the reality of ſpirits, and intelligence between us and them. What I have ſaid, I hope will not miſlead any perſon, or be a means whereby they may delude themſelves: For I have ſpoken of theſe things with the utmoſt ſerioufneſs of mind, and with a ſincere and ardent deſire for the general good and benefit of the world.

FINIS.

Samuel Sanford's

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